The Adolescent

His Conflicts and Escapes

Sidney I. Schwab & Borden S. Veeder

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by

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New York and London
D. Appleton and Company
1930

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

The authors of this book have approached the problems presented by adolescence from somewhat different angles, as their interests, training, and experience arise out of the specialties of neurology and pediatrics. The part that each has had in the production of this book must here be specified in order that responsiblity may be justly distributed. Adolescence cannot be treated without due attention to the physical framework in which the adolescent energies are contained. No adequate handling of the problems that arise out of the effort at social and environmental adaptation can be possible without due regard to the physical questions that constantly arise. Hence it was thought best to include a general outline of this part of the problem. The first three chapters have been written by Dr. Veeder and should be read as an introduction to the more complex situations presented by the adolescent in his struggle with his environment. The remaining chapters of the book have been written by Dr. Schwab. Each of the authors accepts responsibility only for his share of the work, but the book as a whole represents a point of view which is mutually shared. This point of view, strongly emphasizing the social importance of adolescence, has been of service to them both in the handling of adolescent problems that have come to them in their medical work.

S. I. S.
B. S. V.

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CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

IT is customary to divide the life cycle of man into certain periods: infancy, childhood, adolescence, maturity, and senescence. The fully developed picture of each of these periods is characteristic and obvious to the casual observer. On analysis, however, these periods are not sharply defined by clear-cut strokes across a chronological chart, but they merge insensibly one into another from both a physical and a mental standpoint of development. Where one period begins and another ends is exceedingly difficult to say in the case of a given individual. The reason for this is that life is a continuous process, using this term in the sense of growth or development, and not a process marked by abrupt changes from one period to another. Growth, however, is not a uniform process, as its rhythm is constantly changing and is marked by periods of acceleration and retardation. It is a phenomenon which starts with a remarkable velocity in the prenatal state, which continues throughout early infancy, then is retarded throughout childhood, and again accelerated in the early adolescent years, slowing down finally as the individual reaches maturity. The terms infancy, childhood, and maturity need no explanation. Adolescence—the period of youth—is usually defined as the period from the development of puberty to the attainment of full maturity. Puberty is the term used to indicate the time at which the individual becomes capable of reproduction. The age of puberty varies considerably among races and individuals of the same race. As a general rule it develops two years earlier in the female sex than it does in the male. The legal "age of puberty" is a purely arbitrary figure of common law. With pubescence—the period of developing puberty—childhood ends.

Such a division into periods gives no idea of what is actually taking place in the development of the individual. The important thing is the nature of the changes which take place, leading to the various phenomena that are more or less characteristic of each of these periods in their fully developed form. In order to understand a certain period it is necessary to study the changes in growth and development leading up to the period as well as the fully developed period itself. In other words the subject must be approached from a dynamic viewpoint. During late childhood—from the tenth to twelfth or fourteenth year—the body of the boy and girl begins to undergo changes which bring about puberty. These prepubescent years are much more closely related to the early years of adolescence than to the period of early childhood. To understand adolescence it is necessary to consider pubescence and the changes which precede and lead up to puberty. Nearly all discussion of adolescence begins with the establishment of puberty and discussion of childhood ends at this point. Such a presentation of the subject draws a line through the middle of one of the most interesting and important periods of development. It is as if an attempt were made to obtain a complete knowledge of a book by beginning near the middle and finishing before the end.

Throughout infancy and the pre-school period development is rapid, more so in fact than at any other period of the life cycle. We all must marvel at the speed with which physical and mental growth takes place during infancy and early childhood. This is followed by a period of childhood lasting approximately to the tenth year, when there is a marked slowing down of the growth curve. Beginning at this time and lasting into early adolescence is a second period of accelerated growth and development. This is the period of pubescence. In addition to sex development and differentiation, which is the outstanding phenomenon of this growth, a tremendous general physical growth and development take place in the individual. At the same time mental and psychological changes occur which are of far-reaching and fundamental importance. It is important to keep in mind that there is a close relationship between mental and physical development and that the two go hand in hand. Although for purposes of discussion the phases of physical and mental development are considered in different chapters this is purely an arbitrary division for convenience in presentation. The body and the mind of the pubescent and adolescent child are inseparably connected and the physical conditions and growth are intimately involved with the mental processes and reactions. In fact, probably at no other period of life are the psychological reactions of the individual so closely related to and dependent upon the physical changes which are taking place in the body.

The first question that arises is that of the factor or force or impetus which brings about and controls this growth. Why should the growth rhythm suddenly become accelerated at about the tenth to twelfth year, when not only do we find general body growth manifesting itself, but at the same time the more striking development in the reproductive organs? The fundamental answer to this is as obscure as is the answer to the riddle of life itself. It is known, however, that this growth is closely related to, if not the result of, or at least controlled by, the internal secretions of the endocrine glands. This is the name given to certain glandular structures of the body which form in their tissues a secretion which is not excreted from the body, but which is taken up by the body fluids and which, as it circulates through the body, exercises a certain more or less definite action upon growth and metabolism. These endocrine glands, or the glands with an internal secretion, have beyond question an important part in the changes which take place in growth and development during adolescence. But the action of the individual glands and their apparent interrelationship is decidedly nebulous and theoretical. All sorts of influences have been attributed to the various glands and many of these functions or attributes are fantastic. It has only been possible to isolate a few of the internal secretions and thus work out in a scientific manner the action of the secretion in question. The thymus gland, whose function is unknown, becomes smaller from birth on. The adrenal glands, which secrete a known substance called adrenalin, are relatively very much larger during infancy than at any other time. The thyroid gland secretes an extract which has a definite influence on the body metabolism. The pituitary gland at the base of the brain has some important function related to growth, as adults and children with abnormal pituitary glands show definite alterations in growth. The true glands of reproduction, the testes and ovaries, which produce the two elements which unite to form a new being, have in addition an internal secretion which to a large extent controls the development of sex differentiation and characteristics.

A large part of our knowledge regarding the action of the various internal secretions has been built up from studies of abnormal functions. Thus individuals in whom an insufficient amount of thyroid extract is secreted show a low metabolism and have a tendency to obesity. Further, it is known that when the gland is not functioning properly or is absent in early life there is a marked retardation of both mental and physical development. Tumors of the pituitary gland have been found associated with giant growth. In individuals with abnormal sexual precocity, disease of the adrenal glands is sometimes observed. Removal of the testes before puberty leads to a marked retardation in development of the genitalia. It has not been possible to isolate many of the internal secretions and hence to study their direct action in a scientific manner. Much of our knowledge is rather indirect, but there can be no question as to the importance of the rôle of the internal secretions in the regulation or control of growth. Granted that the adolescent growth is brought about by internal secretions, we are still in the dark as to why the various glands should take on new or added secretory activities at about the tenth to the twelfth year. There is seemingly an interrelationship between these various glands and secretions, as apparently the over- or under-secretion of one gland influences the secretion of another. The various glands seemingly have a balanced relationship which may be overthrown at a number of points.

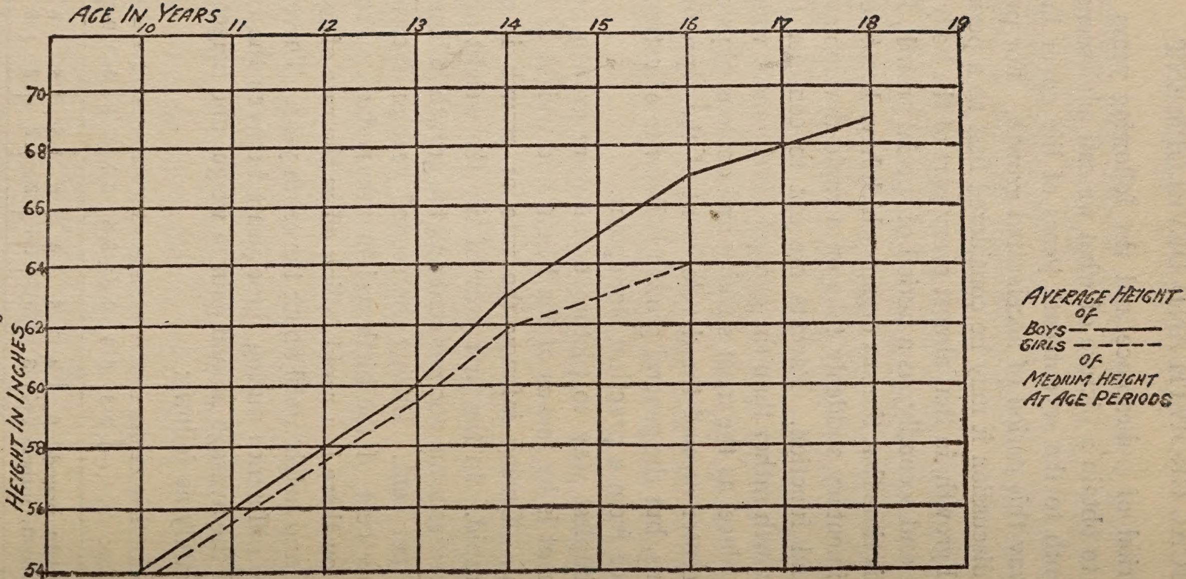
Unfortunately some of the schema and theoretical explanations devised by overenthusiastic students of the internal secretions have been accepted as facts by psychologists and others interested in the subject of adolescence, and explanations of various phenomena have been built up on this basis without sufficient scientific data to support the assumption upon which the explanation is based. The only positive statement that can be made is that marked physical abnormalities in development and in sex function are apparently a result in large measure of disturbed endocrine gland functions. Therefore it may be assumed as a working basis that the various internal secretions of the endocrine glands have a regulating influence upon growth and the development of sex characteristics. To go beyond this and to specify the rôles of the different glands and their interrelationship leads rapidly into the field of theory and speculation.

In order to understand the physical growth and development of adolescence it is necessary to go back to the beginning of pubescence and to study the entire cycle of accelerated growth which begins at this time. It is impossible to understand what is taking place if one begins at the period of puberty and regards adolescence as beginning at that time. As life is a continuous process the characteristics of each period depend to a large extent on what has gone before. The age of physical puberty is not a fixed chronological period. We must consider the entire period of pubescence and the following years to maturity to obtain a picture of what we call adolescence.

The tenth to the seventeenth years of life cover in a general way this period of accelerated growth. For purposes of discussion it may be considered first as a period of general growth, in that almost every part of the body is involved; and secondly, as a period of special growth, for it is at this time that the sex organs which have heretofore been rudimentary suddenly take on a rapid development in size and function. Parents are apt to consider the special growth rather than the general development which is taking place, as the most striking and obvious physical changes center around the development of the reproductive organs, but the general growth is likewise of extreme importance from a practical standpoint.

The simplest way to picture or measure growth and development is by means of the height and weight of an individual. During infancy the rate of growth is extremely rapid. In the first year of life the weight of a baby increases some 200 per cent and the growth in length about 45 per cent. During the second year an increase of 100 per cent of the birth weight takes place. From this time on there is a rapid falling off in the rate of gain in weight and height until about the tenth year. There is very little difference during these years between the two sexes and the average annual gain in weight and height is approximately as follows:

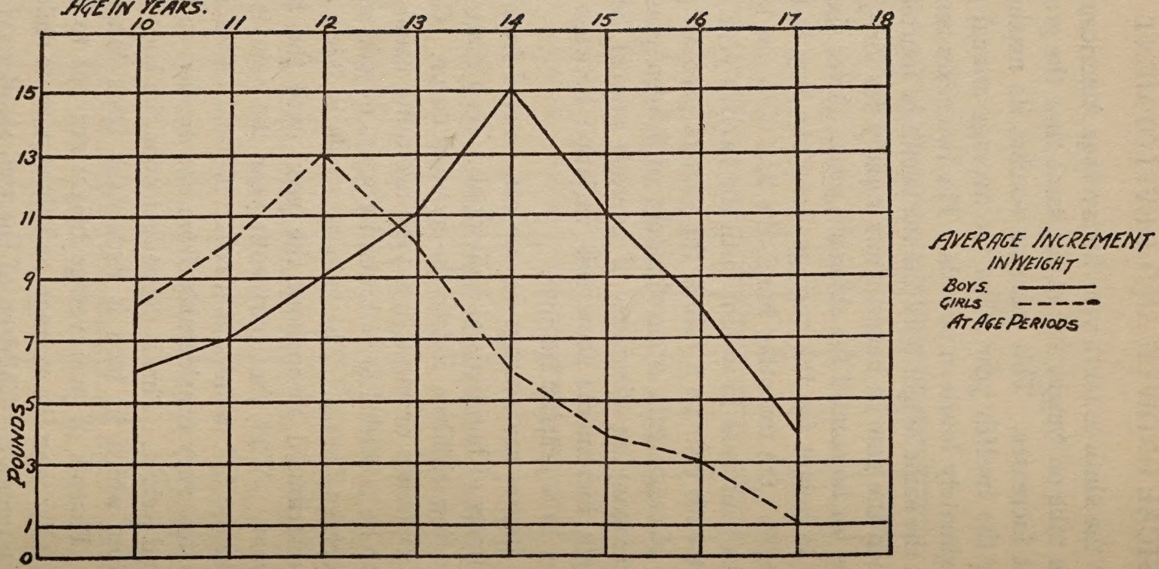
Years:	2–3	3–4	4–5	5–6	6–7	7–8	8–9	9–10
Gain in weight, pounds	5	4	5	4	4	5	5	6
Gain in height, inches	2½	3	3½	2+	2	2	2	2



AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN HEIGHT DURING PUBESCENT YEARS

About the ninth to tenth year the average American girl begins to take on weight and at the same time the growth in height increases. This increase reaches its maximum at about the twelfth year when the average annual gain is approximately fourteen pounds. The two sexes remain at about the same height until the thirteenth or fourteenth year, when the gain in height slows rapidly for girls, but continues for boys until the sixteenth year. After sixteen the gain in height for the average American boy is relatively slight. On the other hand, the boy does not begin the marked increase in weight until the twelfth year, and the fourteenth year as a rule is the year of greatest gain with an average gain approximately of fifteen pounds. The accompanying diagrams of average annual height and weight increments show this variation between the two sexes in a graphic manner.

These figures are average figures constructed from the weight curves of hundreds of individuals. As a matter of fact very few children follow the average curve. Gains of twenty pounds or more in a year are quite usual and are apt to be preceded or followed by years of gain much below average figures. The gain as a rule is fairly uniformly distributed throughout the year until the fourteenth year. After the fourteenth year the gain is far greater in the fall months as a rule. Normal children of the same age vary considerably from one another in both height and weight. This is dependent upon the body type or *habitus,* which in turn is dependent upon inherited factors. Parents of overaverage height are apt to have children taller than the average, and short parents children below the average. Children of the tall, slender type of body habitus are apt to grow and take on weight earlier



AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN WEIGHT DURING PUBESCENT YEARS than children of medium stature, and children of the short type at a corresponding later period.

Marked deviations from the average growth figures are apt to have their origin in deep-seated abnormalities of the endocrine glands or may result from severe types of acute and chronic illness. Malnutrition, using the term as it is somewhat incorrectly used with younger children to mean a certain percentage below average weight for the height at a given age, is not common among pubescent and adolescent children and when present it is often the result of some serious chronic illness.

It is essential to recognize that the adolescent years are years of tremendous body growth. The human organism at this time is in a state of constant change. Its physical capacities are limited. While the growth of the reproductive organs is the most striking of the changes and the one which attracts our attention above all others, the fact must not be overlooked that this is likewise a period of general growth and development. In this growth nearly every organ and tissue of the body is involved. The increased growth of the skeleton—the bony framework of the body—makes up a large part of this general growth in height and weight. Until the twelfth year in girls and the fifteenth year in boys the gain in height chiefly involves the lower limbs, while the gain after these years is chiefly a gain in body height. The growth on the long bones of the arms and legs takes place near the ends. As a rule the ends of the bone do not become firmly united with the shaft of the bone until several years after puberty, and until this occurs growth in length is possible. At about sixteen years of age the skeleton makes up nearly one-fourth of the total weight of the body. The most striking difference between the male and female skeleton is in the pelvis. Although certain differences in the pelvis are seen early in life, at about eleven or twelve years a striking change takes place. In the girl the arch (iliac arch) broadens and the transverse diameter of the pelvis becomes greater than the anterior-posterior diameter. This flattening out and change in diameter is coincident with the development of the female organs of reproduction which lie within the cavity of the pelvis. As a result of this change in shape of the pelvis, together with the muscle growth and the deposition of fat under the skin, the circumference of the body at the hips becomes from one and a half to two inches greater in the girl and the typical configuration of the female form is established.

The growth and development of the muscles which take place at this period are of tremendous importance. It has been calculated that at eight years of age the muscles form about 27 per cent of the body weight. At fifteen years the proportion has increased to 32 per cent and at sixteen years to 44 per cent. It has been found that between the thirteenth and fourteenth years the muscles of the arm of the boy, for example, increase 100 per cent more in size and strength than at any earlier period. This, moreover, is exceeded by the growth of the large muscles of the back, thighs, and legs which have such an important rôle in maintaining the position of the body. Numerous strength tests have been made of the rapid and tremendous increase of muscle power during pubescence and adolescence. This muscular development brings about many practical questions regarding posture, muscular coördination, fatigue, and the like, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. In early adolescence the muscles have a tendency to grow in length more rapidly than the bony framework of the body, which leads to faulty posture and improper and uncertain coördination. It is this rapid skeletal and muscular growth that is in large measure responsible for the awkwardness of the child in his teens.

The heart is one of the most important factors of adolescent growth. Conforming to the general growth which is taking place, and in part as a result of the demand put upon it by this growth, the heart nearly doubles in size between the tenth and sixteenth years. Growth in itself is dependent upon proper materials for growth being carried to the different tissues and structures through the blood. In order to supply sufficient blood and to maintain the circulation through the new-formed tissues the heart must enlarge in capacity and increase in power. The development of the heart as a rule goes hand in hand with the general growth. If the heart has been injured in childhood—a result most commonly of rheumatism—so that its mechanical work is interfered with, there may be a difficulty in its development and so we find that these years are of particular danger to the child with heart disease. At birth and during early childhood the blood vessels are relatively large and the heart small. As the heart increases in size the ratio between the two changes rapidly. At birth the ratio is 25 to 20; at early puberty 140 to 50; at late puberty 200 to 50. Some interesting studies on the blood pressure in childhood and adolescence have been made. During childhood the pulse pressure—the difference between the systolic (heart active) and diastolic (heart at rest) pressures—rises uniformly until the prepubescent years. Then, as a result of a rapid increase in systolic pressure and a slower increase in diastolic, the pulse pressure increases rapidly until the seventeenth or eighteenth year, when it falls to the original level. This is interpreted as indicating a marked increase of work per unit of cardiac muscle during the pubescent years. At times the growth of the heart is slow or retarded in relation to the general growth and the heart of the child of sixteen may have only the functional capacity of the heart at eleven or twelve. As a rule the heart beats regularly with a definite rhythm. It is not at all uncommon, however, to find irregularities, or arrhythmias, which are usually of nervous origin and not organic in nature. An irregular heart in adolescence is usually an indication of need for careful watching. There is a practical side to the growth and demand upon the heart during this period for it is a very easy matter to put too much strain upon the cardiac muscle. This is most important from the standpoint of exercise and sport which will be discussed in a later chapter.

In order to maintain itself the body requires a constant supply of fuel in the form of food. Not only must material be supplied in the food which can be transformed by the body into material for growth and repair, but every action of every cell in the body requires fuel which has its source in the food which is eaten. Few realize the tremendous food requirements of the growing boy and girl. First of all, growth, as has been pointed out, is very rapid at this time. The muscular activity of adolescent boys and girls is very great, as every one knows by observation of their play. In addition the rate of activity of the body tissues at rest (basal metabolism) has been shown to be 25 per cent higher in boys at puberty than the basal metabolism of the adult. These three factors are the cause of the tremendous food requirements of children during this period. In studies made a few years ago at one of the eastern preparatory schools it was found that the boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age took approximately five thousand calories daily in their food and apparently required this amount. This is nearly half again as much as a farmer at his daily work requires. The enormous appetites of children at this time, which never seem satisfied, are not abnormal.

Much more could be said regarding the details of the general growth which takes place during the adolescent years, but sufficient has been said to point out the general character and importance of this development. The important fact is that this is a period of growth and development and hence the functional capacity of the organism is not only constantly changing but is limited and easily exceeded. No two individuals develop in exactly the same way and there is a marked difference between the two sexes. This is even more marked and striking when we consider the subject of the development of the sex characteristics.

CHAPTER II

PUBERTY AND SEX

THE most striking and important event in the life of the child between the tenth and fifteenth years is the development of puberty by which the body undergoes changes which enable it to fulfill a primary function of biological life, the function of the carrying on of the race. There is a voluminous literature regarding the many phases of the development which takes place—on sex function, psychology, sex education and hygiene, etc.—for it is one of the most important periods of the life cycle. The development of puberty, however, as has been pointed out, is only one phase of the general development which is taking place, although the sex differentiation overshadows everything else. Up until about the tenth year the growth and development of the two sexes are strikingly alike and the two may be considered and discussed as one. While many who have studied childhood consider that psychological differences between the two sexes can be traced from early infancy, there is no doubt that many of these differences have their origin in custom, environment, and education rather than a fundamental physical basis. As an example of this can be cited the change which has taken place in recent years with the introduction of physical play and sports into the life of the girl. Activities that once were looked upon as the abnormal development of "masculine" traits in the girl and stigmatized by the word "tomboy" are now regarded as perfectly natural. Whatever sex differentiation exists before the tenth year is of comparatively little practical importance from the standpoint of physical development and psychology.

As the development of puberty is a development of a function, pubescence should be regarded as a physiological age period. This physiological age does not necessarily coincide with the anatomical or chronological age of the child and the two are often confused. Some boys reach puberty as early as the eleventh year and others as late as the sixteenth. Some girls begin menstruation at ten and others as late as sixteen or seventeen. It is difficult to determine the exact age of puberty in the male, but in the female the time of beginning menstruation is regarded as denoting this period. A number of investigations have been made of the age at which menstruation develops in American-born girls. In from 15 to 20 per cent it first occurs in the twelve- to thirteen-year period; in 35 to 40 per cent in the thirteen- to fourteen-year period; and in 20 to 25 per cent in the fourteen- to fifteen-year period. The mean is around thirteen years and nine months. This difference between the physiological age and the chronological age is of importance, as we usually group children chronologically, whereas their interests, mental attitudes, forms of physical play and games, and the like, are related to or dependent upon the physiological age. It is one of the reasons why one child of thirteen or fourteen is more "advanced" than another of the same age. It is of distinct practical importance to teachers and parents in their understanding and management of children, and is a factor which should be taken into consideration in such fields as that of child-labor legislation.

Beginning at about the tenth year, and more or less paralleling the changes in general development which have been described, the organs which have to do with sex functions show a rapid growth and development and sex becomes more sharply differentiated. We are accustomed to divide the anatomical changes which have to do with sex into two groups. Those are termed primary which involve the true reproductive organs, while the changes involving the accessory structures which are associated with the male and female types of body habitus are called secondary. The latter include such features as the growth and distribution of hair about the pubic region, the development of the mammary glands or breasts in the girl, and the growth of beard and change or break which takes place in the voice of the boy. They are important as a part of sex differentiation and also as indicating that the boy or girl is undergoing the development of puberty. These changes or characteristics are in all probability brought about by the internal secretions of the endocrine glands, as is shown by the failure of development of the secondary characteristics when the glands have been removed or are abnormal before puberty. The primary sex differentiation consists in the formation and secretion of sperm in the testes of the male and the development of the ova in the ovaries of the female, together with the growth and development which take place in the genitalia.

The changes which take place in the reproductive organs of the girl consist essentially of enlargement and growth of the external genitalia, growth in the size of the uterus, and an increase in size of the ovaries, together with the ripening of the ovarian follicles which have to do with the formation of the ova. This development and growth take place over a period of months and the establishment of puberty is signified by the appearance of menstruation. While menstruation in American children of native stock usually appears in the thirteenth year, it is modified by race and climate as well as by the functioning of the endocrine glands of the individual, and may appear as early as the tenth or eleventh year or as late as the sixteenth without being regarded as abnormal. The secondary sex characteristics usually begin to appear some months before menstruation itself takes place. Menstruation consists essentially of a discharge of an ovum from the ovaries into the uterus or womb and the preparation of the uterus to receive it. It occurs in cycles about every twenty-seven or twenty-eight days and is made up of a period of four days of congestion of the lining of the uterus, three to four days of menstrual flow, about seven or eight days while the lining is returning to its normal condition, and twelve days of rest. Not infrequently it takes some time for the periods to become regular, and so for many months after the initial flow, periods may be omitted or recur at irregular intervals, sometimes recurring in three weeks and at other times at five or six weeks without this denoting anything of significance or importance. Irregularity for a year after the initial menstruation may be disregarded and is not a cause for alarm. Coincident with the period, changes in disposition and temperament are apt to occur, particularly if the girl is of a nervous type. Hysterical manifestations, periods of unexplained and apparently causeless fits of weeping, lassitude, and the like are frequently seen. It is not at all uncommon for a girl who has been active in sports and play to change her attitude completely for a temporary period, desiring to stay home away from her friends and mope about the home. Sometimes cycles of depression or unnatural exaltation are seen for some months before actual menstruation begins.

There has been a tradition handed down for many generations that this perfectly natural physiological episode in the life of a girl or woman is a period of shame. Nothing could be more harmful or dangerous to the mental viewpoint of a young girl than this attitude. Even more inimical—because it is almost universal—is the regarding of menstruation as an illness. The word "sick" or "sickness" should never be used. It is not a disease nor an ailment, but a normal physiological phenomenon. While it is true that it makes both an inward and an outward mark upon the life of the girl, her habits and mental reactions, the thought that it is a perfectly normal occurrence must predominate.

There are certain things which every girl must be taught regarding menstruation. First and most important, she should be prepared for its development. Frequently the physician is asked when, what, and how to tell her. The subject should be brought up by the girl's mother when the secondary sexual characteristics begin to develop, as, for example, when the breasts begin to enlarge. At this time, in an apparently casual way, probably best in connection with the mother's menstrual cycle, it should be explained to her that in a few months she will begin to menstruate. It should be impressed upon the child that this is a perfectly normal thing for girls and that every woman has this monthly period; that when it does take place she should come at once to her mother, or to some older woman if necessary under the circumstances, and learn how to take care of herself. The subject may be brought up once or twice but should never be made unduly important. It is most important, as we have said, that a girl be prepared for menstruation. Many a young early-adolescent girl has received a shock at an unexpected first menstrual flow that has had far-reaching effects upon her life, to her physical detriment and future unhappiness. This point cannot be emphasized too much. A second point is that the girl should never be allowed to think of herself as sick. The mental reactions at puberty are far-reaching and wrong impressions may last for years to the general physical injury of the girl. There is no question but that a considerable part of the chronic invalidism seen in so many women at the menstrual period is mental rather than physical, and is due to an impression of invalidism or sickness acquired during her early and impressionable years. The nervousness, depression, and tension associated with menstruation are part of the phenomenon, but it is not "illness," although it may be transferred to such a state as the result of an unfortunate mental outlook and attitude.

A third matter has to do with a necessary lightening of activities during early periods. There is much to be said against the older practice of advising rest in bed for several days at the early menstruation. For the vast majority of girls this is unnecessary and simply tends to develop or accentuate a feeling of illness which should be avoided. A moderate amount of pain or discomfort should be disregarded. Only when there is an unusual amount of hemorrhage is bed rest advisable. Nevertheless there is a marked physical change taking place and hence a quiet life should be the rule. Usually it is best to send the girl to school but to stop all sports, play, and parties, and to have the child come home directly from school and take things easy. Ordinary common sense is a fairly safe guide in advising what can and cannot be done. Above all, the phenomenon of menstruation should be regarded as a regular routine event to which so much importance and interest should not be given that the young girl comes to regard it as of abnormal or pathological significance.

Nature has not seen fit to make the boy develop any phenomenon parallel or similar to menstruation in his pubescence. This is a fundamental biological difference between the two sexes which reacts upon their physical life, habits, sports, play, and work. It cannot be glossed over and must be taken into consideration in the training and education of our youth and in industrial and vocational occupations in later life. It is not a question of inferiority or superiority between the sexes, but of a fundamental physical fact.

The boy approaches puberty somewhat later than the girl and its development is gradual. The signs of rapid general growth have been pointed out. The secondary sexual characteristics which indicate to the parent the beginnings of puberty are the changes or break in the voice, the growth of beard, and the growth of hair about the genitalia. At the same time there is a decided growth of the genitalia and of the testes, and the latter take on their function of the secretion of spermatozoa. Associated with these are the changes in temperament, habits, etc., which are described in another chapter. There is one phenomenon associated with the development of puberty in boys which through a false sense of modesty is frequently ignored, much to their harm and detriment. While as a rule most girls have some degree of knowledge of menstruation, few boys have knowledge that a physiological nocturnal emission of semen occurs at more or less frequent intervals after the establishment of puberty. It is in reality a sexual orgasm which takes place during sleep. It is a decidedly alarming experience to the developing boy, who almost without exception tries to conceal its occurrence, and it has a decided mental reaction. This has been taken advantage of by advertising quacks and charlatans who in one way or another persuade the boy that this is a sign of "lost manhood." In certain lads of a somewhat unstable and impressionable nervous system this may lead to a mental break and it is not uncommon to see boys with mental disease which had its origin in, or at least was strongly influenced by, a fear complex arising from the idea of "lost manhood" as a result of seminal emissions which were in reality a normal physiological event. As the testicles of the boy enlarge and repeated congestion takes place it is not at all uncommon to see an enlargement of the veins or varicocele develop which usually is of no importance except as a cause of worry to the boy. It is as important that the boy should know that a "wet dream" is a natural and normal occurrence as it is for the girl to be prepared for and know the significance of menstruation.

In any discussion of sex development and sex problems during pubescence and adolescence, the fact must always be kept in mind that this is the period when one of the two dominating instincts of biological life manifests itself. It is impossible to get away from the physical fact that as adolescence is reached the period of sexual life has arrived, and that at the same time there appears an urge toward fulfilling the natural functions. The social structure of our civilization has built up an artificial barrier of customs and taboos together with an ethical code of social and economic restrictions to hold in check the physiological sex urge of the adolescent, all of which, from a physical standpoint, is contrary to the law of nature. It is entirely beyond the scope of our discussion to analyze this or to discuss its development, or in any way to raise the question of whether mankind is better or worse as a result. What is important in a discussion of adolescence is to recognize frankly that this conflict or situation exists. It is a fact, however, that many of the sex problems of the adolescent have their origin in this artificial and arbitrary social environment that has been built up around the subject of sex in opposition to biological laws. It can be said that from a physical standpoint, and this is the subject we now have under discussion, continence during the early years of sexual maturity is not injurious.

There is another basic fact which must be considered in dealing with the question of sex development. Throughout childhood the physical growth and development of the two sexes goes hand in hand. Adolescent growth, and with it sexual maturity, begins earlier in the girl than in the boy. Hence we reach a period—ten or eleven to sixteen years—when physical age and chronological age in the two sexes are no longer parallel. Yet nearly all our educational and recreational activities have been developed as if the two went hand in hand. There is every evidence that the sex urge or instinct is greater in the boy than in the girl. Another premise which must be accepted follows naturally from the physical growth of the reproductive system and the development of the sex urge or instinct during adolescence. It is at this time that the subject of sex becomes a matter of personal subjective interest to the boy or girl. The repression or control of the sex instinct during the adolescent years has been accomplished by means of a social and ethical code, and by the method of affording substitute physical outlets. It must be realized that no matter how efficient or effective these are from a practical standpoint, at best they are but substitutes and must be frankly considered as such.

This conflict between the inherent sex urge of the adolescent and his environment, which forces him to hold the instinct in check or to satisfy it in a manner which is either unnatural or else transgresses the custom of society, is the basis of the sex problems of the period. Individuals who reach adolescence without a knowledge of sex and sex relations are apt to run into difficulties. The child who arrives at this period in total ignorance of the subject of sex and without at least a subconscious knowledge that the sex urge is one of the dominant influences in life is in line for a rude awakening.

Too often such an awakening has led to problems and difficulties which have left a serious mark for the balance of his or her life. It is a recognition of this fact which has led to the attempt to introduce sex education at an earlier period of childhood. The success of this has been problematical. At an earlier stage of development sex matters are purely objective so far as the child is concerned and the interest is one of general curiosity. It is not until the teens, when, as a normal part of growth, sex becomes differentiated in the individual as a result of the development of the reproductive function, that sex becomes a subjective matter and a subject of absorbing personal interest to the boy or girl.

Interest in a subject is one of the chief requisites for education. There has been a movement to teach the simple facts of biological life to children in the lower school grades through elementary studies in botany and zoölogy and the purpose is commendable even if, as there is reason to believe, the results are of questionable value. Overemphasis is apt to stir up excessive curiosity which is as harmful as ignorance at this age. With a great deal of wisdom and foresight the point has been made that what should be most emphasized in sex education at this earlier period of childhood is not the physical side but sex as pictured in the broader side of family relationships, as the care and regard of the parents for one another. While this is excellent in theory, and in practice in many homes, it must be admitted that the relationship of the parents in other families is anything but ideal for teaching the finer side of sex education. The point also seems to be disregarded in most of the discussions of sex education in early childhood that there is a marked difference in children. The marked difference in the temperament, intelligence, and intensity of specific instincts and emotions among children is obvious to any one who sees and deals with a large number of children. What may be a perfectly correct method of approach for one child may be useless for another. It is our view and opinion that sex education is a matter for the home and parents rather than a subject for the school. The impossibility of such education by some parents must be admitted, but no method of education in any field of endeavor has been without defect. More and more as the sex problems of boys and girls in their teens are studied and thrashed out with teachers and parents, it will be found that the answer lies in the family life and environment, in the relationship between the parents themselves, and in the relation existing between the parents and their children. Perhaps the chief difficulty is that at some crisis developing for the boy or girl during adolescence, the parent attempts to establish a relationship which should have existed throughout the earlier years of childhood, and failure to help results from the impossibility of establishing a proper relationship at this later time.

In the discussion of sex education for children in their teens we are considering the period when sex assumes an individual subjective physical aspect. This is what nature intended and the subject must be discussed honestly from this viewpoint. If there has been the proper relationship between the parents and children sex questions have usually been brought up before and the treatment of the subject at this time is merely an elaboration of what has been said previously. No matter how undesirable it may be, we can consider it axiomatic that with the vast majority of children sex matters are being discussed among themselves at this time and the effort must be chiefly to see that the adolescents look upon the subject from a correct viewpoint and accurately—that their knowledge is not simply a partially correct one or an incorrect one gleaned from obscene stories and tales.

We have already discussed the most important physical phase for the girl—a knowledge of menstruation and its significance and how to cope with the situation. Beyond this the subject is almost an individual one and must be handled as the case demands, for there is a marked difference in girls as regards the intensity of the sex instinct.

With boys one can as a rule be more frank than with girls and their knowledge as a rule is more varied and extensive. Moreover, one can say that the sex urge is usually more intensive in a boy and not so periodical. As the boy begins to show his pubescence it is by far the wisest plan to talk to him frankly and in a straightforward manner as man to man. Most fathers are usually shocked to learn how much their sons have already picked up. As stated before, the boy should be warned of the normalcy of seminal emissions so that he does not become unduly alarmed when they occur.

But the problem with our adolescents is not merely one of knowledge. We are dealing with individuals who are developing a primary dominating instinct. As our social customs, laws, and modes do not permit of the gratification of this physical instinct the problem is essentially one of control and guidance. In part this is answered by our customs and manner of living which tend to prevent the opportunity of gratification in a natural way. This unfortunately may lead to the development of gratification in an abnormal way or to inhibitions which are harmful. Fortunately the sex instinct is not the only instinct which develops at puberty and the most logical method as well as the method which produces the best results is the stimulation and activation of other instincts and desires to substitute for or sublimate the sex instinct. The adolescent boy is almost equally interested in his general body development and muscular power and so it is a fairly easy matter as a rule to substitute play and sports and to centralize his desires in athletic activities. The same is becoming more and more true of our girls. There is nothing more valuable than such movements for boys and girls as the Scout movement. In our better class of schools play and athletic contests are arranged for *all* pupils. One of the greatest weaknesses of our public-school system lies in the lack of attention to this side of the life and activity of children. Exercise and hard outdoor play are perhaps the most important substitute for the sex urge. Control also through the development of a religious consciousness, which begins to manifest itself during adolescence, or for the child not athletically inclined some other outlet, as special interest in some activity outside the school curriculum—stamp-collecting, radio, etc.—may be utilized.

One can sum up the entire plan of control by saying that the teaching of self-control of the sex instinct consists chiefly in finding other instincts or desires that can be substituted for the normal physical urge of sex. On the negative side, it is important to secure as much as possible the avoidance of books, contacts, movies, etc., in which the sex element is emphasized and as a result of which the sex instinct of the child is stimulated. To these purely physical and environmental methods must be added the influence of moral training.

In this connection something may be said in regard to the physical side of perverse or abnormal sexual habits which with few exceptions (which need not be discussed as they are extremely pathological) consist almost entirely of self-abuse or masturbation. While it is the general impression that self-abuse is restricted almost entirely to boys, it is not so extremely rare in girls, though less generally recognized or suspected. So much has been implied in writings regarding self-abuse, and it is so nearly a taboo subject, that many erroneous ideas and conceptions have been current in regard to its practice. Certain types of masturbation are not at all uncommon in infancy and in very young children where it arises as a rule as a result of stimulation of the genitalia through irritation. Certainly no one could look upon such reactions—purely sensory physical responses—as related to morals. Children more or less consciously are taught not to handle their genitalia during early childhood—commonly as an "unclean habit." When the child reaches puberty, however, the genitalia take on a new function and as they develop in a perfectly normal physical way there is introduced into the child's consciousness a new sensation which is a part of the sex instinct. Nature has seen to it that this is a pleasure reaction rather than a pain reaction and quite unconscious of intentional wrong or "immorality" the child experiments with this sensation. Quite like the seminal emission of the boy it may even be regarded as a physiological reaction. This in the vast majority of children is a purely transitory period and as a result of education the child learns to avoid this stimulation in the majority of instances. Moral teaching plays a large part in preventing self-abuse becoming a habit and here if anywhere there is need of sex education and a happy relationship between parent and child.

Despite the contrary prevalent opinion there is not the slightest evidence to show that such transitory occasional self-abuse is at all harmful physically. This is quite different from the development of the habit of self-abuse and the carrying of the habit into later adolescent years. As a matter of fact the greatest harm results from the mental reaction of the fear of having done physical harm, or the fear of having committed a venial sin rather than from direct physical injury. Unscrupulous charlatans have preyed upon the unstable minds of adolescent boys for years over the subject of "lost manhood" and in individual cases have done irremediable harm. Self-abuse is of course a thing to be checked and stopped—but stopped through an explanation of what ensues if permitted to grow into a habit, the antisocial nature of the act, and the "gang taboo." These will usually hold it in check. The correct explanation is that it is a trait of the insane and feeble-minded rather than that it will lead to insanity and feeble-mindedness.

There is but one further subject in regard to sex education and that is the question of venereal disease. This is a subject that should not be discussed until late adolescence, and is not a subject for discussion with boys or girls during puberty, except under very unusual or exceptional circumstances. Here perhaps is the ideal place for sex education outside the home, administered by the family or the school physician.

CHAPTER III

SCHOOL AND PLAY

THE adolescent is a growing, developing organism and not a mature individual, consequently his functional capacity is not complete but limited. While the period of years included under our discussion of adolescence has the lowest mortality rate of any period of the life cycle, the number of adolescents with impaired health is by no means small, and this in large part is the result of overtaxing the functional capacity of the individual in one way or another. It is difficult or even impossible to lay down any general or mass rules in regard to the functional capacity of the individual adolescent at a given time, for there are such decided differences in the rate and chronological age at which individuals develop.

What may be done or accomplished without danger by one person may be too much of a strain upon another. The chief source of overstrain lies in the complexity of the present-day environment to which the adolescent has to make his adjustment.

There are three main divisions into which the environment of the adolescent may be grouped. Roughly they are: first, the educational or scholastic life; second, the social life; and third, the physical life. Any one of the three may be overdeveloped to such an extent that it exceeds the functional capacity of the individual, but more commonly it is the sum total of all three which causes overstrain.

It is not rare to see overstudy impair the health and in turn the development of an adolescent. This is not, however, because of the severity of the scholastic task imposed upon the average adolescent, per se, but usually when through some urge or ambition the pursuit of knowledge, or rather the goal of high marks, is carried to such an extent that the necessary physical life is insufficient or neglected; or in the case where the intelligence of the individual is lower than average and excessive demands are made by teachers and parents. This latter, however, leads more to conduct and personality changes or developments than to physical harm.

Of more importance from the standpoint of overtaxing the adolescent is the question of the social life. In school not only is there a scholarship demand, but the extra-curriculum activities are legion. To find pupils with every hour of the day planned out weeks in advance is by no means uncommon. To the school life is added the life of the social group. An excessive number of parties lasting to the small hours of the morning, with loss of sleep and exercise, is the usual order of to-day for the adolescent. The child must go with the crowd and parents are unable to make a stand against it for fear of the child's losing caste, or failing to make a place for himself in some certain social group. Much could be said of the influence of the movies in this connection. The extent of social activities varies greatly according to the social and economic status of the individual, but to a greater or less degree it is an important factor in the life of every adolescent. A certain amount of social activity is of course a most desirable factor in the development of the adolescent, but in recent years the social life has become more and more of a factor to be carefully watched and considered.

The third important environmental factor includes what in a rough way we may call the physical life. The extent to which this plays a part varies greatly according to the social and economic status of the individual in question. On the one hand it is of importance in the group of adolescents who through economic stress must become producers before maturity is reached. It has been found necessary to safeguard the health of children in industry by legal measures, for many a dark page of economic history and development has been written around the subject of child labor. To shut up young, growing organisms in mills, factories, and shops at manual labor of a routine type cannot but lead to physical deterioration, as many investigations have shown. Not only does it lead to injury of the individual but to race deterioration also. Fortunately in most of our states safeguards and restrictions on child labor have been placed by legislation; a health certificate should be a fundamental requirement everywhere. From this extreme we can turn to the question of individual exercise and its importance.

In a previous chapter the tremendous muscle growth which takes place during adolescence has been mentioned, together with the significance and importance of this. Exercise is an essential for the normal development of the growing boy and girl. The rapidly growing muscles require training and the interest which every normal boy and girl shows at this time for all forms of outdoor play and sport may be looked upon as but another example of the way nature meets a need. It may be stated as a general rule that out-of-door exercise in the form of play is decidedly preferable to formal gymnasium work or exercise such as is encountered so frequently in schools. Not only do games and sports furnish the necessary muscular exercise but at the same time they have distinct educational and developmental value. They offer a mental relaxation from formal studies while teaching at the same time mental alertness, coördination, self-control, and leadership. They have a further value in developing a group or social sense and if properly conducted the boy or girl learns from games the value and possibility of team play without at the same time submerging personal effort and endeavor. During adolescence one of the most striking characteristics is the development of the group or "gang instinct." This "gang instinct" has possibilities of great injury and harm if misdirected, as it is one of the common causes of bad habits and social delinquency. The recreation movement for boys and girls of this age period is one of the most important and necessary developments in our civil life. With the increasing tendency to a complex urban mode of living its proper extension and development are of utmost importance. Municipal playgrounds, community centers, Boy and Girl Scouting, summer camps, and the like are no longer fads nor experiments, but are necessary links in the development and education of our youth. The Citizens' Training Camps conducted by the army for boys of seventeen and over have done wonders for individual boys who were difficult problems to handle from a physical and personality viewpoint.

The boy or girl in the teens requires at least two hours of play every day. A large amount of this must be in the form of exercise. The great mistake of our school program from the standpoint of physical development has been failure to provide adequate play fields for *every* boy and girl, permitting instead the centering of sports in a school team. In the better private schools of to-day not only is every boy and girl given the space and opportunity to play, but sports are as much a part of the school curriculum and routine as English composition. As a rule the boy or girl who does not like sports or games is usually the very one who needs them the most. Often a dislike for athletic exercise is a defensive mechanism against an inferiority complex. One of the foundations of our country is the compulsory educational system. As a part of this compulsory education, physical exercise —training in games and sports—should be included, for the proper physical development of the adolescent is of equal importance at least to the mental training.

Considerable care must be exercised in the choice of games and sports, for not every game is suited to every individual. Games or sports of a type which afford the opportunity for rapid action for short periods of time, combined with frequent intervals of rest, and which at the same time call for the coördinated use of many muscles, are by far the best. There is always danger of overfatigue, particularly with boys, and hence games which call for long-sustained physical effort or long periods of training should be avoided, as the young growing body is not capable of long-sustained physical effort without overfatigue. The danger of straining the heart by overexercise is actual. It is a wise, if indeed not a necessary precaution that children at this period should have annual physical examinations if they are to engage in any competitive sports. It must be recognized that boys in particular at this period develop a combative spirit or instinct, and games and sports furnish the opportunity for this to be developed along proper channels and to avoid its transference into pugnacious, bullying habits.

Further, it must be taken into consideration that there should be a difference in the type of games played by boys and girls. This is becoming less marked in recent years with the growing interest of girls in athletics of all kinds. An interest in active sports is no longer looked upon as a "tomboy" trait. With this change in social attitude and custom, it may be remarked in passing that the anæmia of puberty—the "green sickness"—which was so common and a subject of voluminous medical interest in the past, is rarely encountered to-day. The athletic girl is now a normal and popular as well as a healthy member of society. As a rule games for girls should be less strenuous, and types of sport of a highly combative nature, such as football, boxing, and wrestling, are not essential, as girls do not have the combative instinct developed to such a degree as occurs normally in boys.

A word may be said of the relation of exercise to menstruation. It is a factor which must be taken into consideration. During the menstrual period all forms of exercise should be stopped for the young girl. The routine school and home life will furnish all that is needed. It is one of the primary reasons why extramural sports for girls necessitating the development of a school team have decided practical objections and why sports and games for girls should be confined to the play or school group.

The types of sport and play vary considerably in their value as exercise and as potential sources of overstrain. *Baseball* is in many ways an ideal game for boys. It brings out coördination, individual effort, and team play. It requires concentration, quick action, and decision. There is no reason why in a modified form it should not be developed into a very desirable and satisfactory form of play for girls from ten to fourteen. *Football* is distinctively a boys' game and one of the best. Properly played it is in many ways an ideal game, satisfying the combative sense present in every normal boy. Coördinated team play is required as in no other sport, but individual effort is given every opportunity. There are certain essentials which must be regarded and which must be emphasized, otherwise football contains too many possibilities of injury to permit it to be classified as a desirable sport. These are, briefly, proper clothing and equipment, proper playing fields, supervision by competent coaches, and lastly the precaution that the groups engaged in play should be selected according to weight and strength so that there should be no marked differences among the players. The failure to establish such safeguards has led to the majority of football accidents. Properly equipped, supervised, and played, the game has little if any more danger than baseball or basketball. There is no other sport which teaches a boy to give and take, to think and act quickly, to control temper, to stand up and play the game, so well as football. A word of warning must be said against the tendency to overwork the "school team" and to make a task of football rather than a game. Football has taken too strong a hold on scholastic life and many coaches in their desire to win have overlooked the fact that the players are immature and have over-driven them to their physical detriment. The normal boy should gain in weight during his football-playing season.

Basketball from a physical standpoint is not an ideal sport for developing boys. As a rule it is played on an indoor court and requires too much sustained effort. On the other hand the modified form of basketball played by girls, and particularly if played in the open, is one of the best games for girls. *Hockey* as played in girls' schools and colleges is perhaps the only other form of game equal to the modified basketball. *Swimming* when not overdone or continued for too long a time is an ideal exercise, as it brings into play an unusual number of muscles. To learn to swim is an essential in every one's education.

Tennis is an excellent form of exercise but may be made a very strenuous one. For some reason it is not usually recognized that tennis is often overdone and overfatigue from tennis is frequently seen. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the fact that it is unlimited in the number of sets, and children will keep on playing when they would be finished with some other game with a point or period limitation. Young growing children should be limited to two or three sets, depending upon the speed and severity of play. Too frequently boys who are nonathletic by physique and temperament are relegated to the tennis courts when they should be playing baseball or football. When tennis is played it should be made a real game and not be permitted to degenerate into a time-killer. *Golf,* although often regarded as an old-man's game, is an excellent form of exercise for developing children, particularly for those below par or suffering from some disability requiring restriction from the more strenuous sports. The exercise is in the form of walking, which is always a distasteful form to a child unless there is a real object, such as golf offers. The play of the stroke teaches coördination and concentration.

Rowing as a sport is one of the undesirable forms of exercise for adolescent boys. Competitive *track work* must be placed in the same category. Sprint races and, more particularly, long-distance running put entirely too much strain upon the immature heart—a heart which is already carrying a heavy load, as has been pointed out. It is a safe rule not to allow serious track athletics before the seventeenth or eighteenth year and then only under strict supervision. *Boxing* and *wrestling* are other forms of exercise for boys which although excellent in themselves must be strictly supervised, as they are apt to be overdone. *Dancing* (esthetic, not ballroom) and *fencing* are both desirable for girls and are not utilized as much as they should be. *Horseback riding* is splendid for both boys and girls, although it has natural limitations as a general form of exercise.

CHAPTER IV

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ADOLESCENCE

A COMMON inquiry has reference to the methods by which adolescence can be studied. How is it possible to know anything about the adolescent? The question can be further extended. Is there any way by which any individual can be studied? It is obvious that before this question can be answered, if there is indeed any answer, some outline of the methods that have been followed should be given, so that whatever is contained in this chapter and others to follow may have the continuity at least of a logical and sustained method of approach.

At the outset it should be stated that there is no known way by which all the facts about an individual can be known and, if known, interpreted. The complexity of human personality is such that only brief glimpses of the mechanisms which are at work in the creation of the completed pattern can ever be had and these at best only partially understood. Psychology thus far has given partial insights, disclosed certain partially visible situations, pointed intricate pathways, and indicated individual preferences. These must be translated into ordinary speech so that the intelligent reader can know something of the methods of study and what are the necessary limitations of such a study. By combining all that seems valuable in the various schemes of investigation some addition to knowledge has been derived, enough probably to make of the adolescent a more sustained and a more intelligible human picture than before.

Much has been written about adolescence, this curiously illusive period in the life history of the individual. It has been a favorite subject, always, for poet, novelist, and amateur psychologist. Its very illusiveness and the uncertainty attached to its boundary lines have attracted the interest of educator and philosopher as well as scientist. Everywhere, in the treatment of the subject, the play of fancy and imagination is evident. Much has been associated with it that is not there at all and often its characteristics have been unduly exaggerated or emphasis wrongly placed. The serious student is endlessly confused by the mass of traditions and strange theories in which the subject is enmeshed. He cannot avoid being influenced by, or at least taking account of, some of these ideas which have long been accepted as true.

In this chapter there will be an exposition of the various ways through which a study of adolescence may be approached. This will include an effort to indicate, in a brief way, what the advantages or disadvantages of each may be. It will be seen that the author finds no one method of approach so far discovered and so far in use sufficiently illuminating to be employed alone. Although some parts of all the methods hereafter described may be used to a certain extent in every problem the adolescent presents, it will be seen that it is only the combination of these which will, perhaps, give the necessary insight into the problem.

It is a matter of great difficulty to see straight through the maze of contradictory views and to give due weight to each. One must take account of the bias of personality and individual taste. For instance, those who write about this subject are mainly those who have to do with children in some capacity or other and therefore much that has appeared in print is touched by their special interests. It is an unusual opportunity for the teacher to study human intelligence in its most receptive stage. Adolescence, to him, is primarily a pedagogical concern and the significance of the problem lies chiefly in the region of formal teaching. The striking point of interest is the fact of intellectual acquisitiveness and nothing else seems nearly so important.

In the province of the pediatrician, significance is given to developmental aspects associated chiefly with increased function in the activities of the organism. Much stress is laid upon the awakening of hitherto dormant and inactive organic processes. From the point of view of physiology and anatomy, the pediatrician emphasizes the activities of the sex glands and studies the new resources of the individual thus stimulated. He considers this new influence upon the vital capacity, respiration, cardiac function, and processes of a similar kind. The adolescent as an organic mechanism is studied as something apart from the mature figure after which he is modeled. The problem in this instance is weighted down by the purely physical characteristics of the adolescent as though the output in the way of work or force were the important items in the understanding of a complex problem in human development. Such studies are concerned with questions as to the adequate preparation that can be made for the sudden demands placed upon the organism, which has become not only larger, more powerful, and endowed with hitherto unknown capacities, but which is capable of doing and desires to do, things that were formerly impossible. Also, the organism willfully refuses to be limited in point of activity by its own capacities and strives after types of activity that it ought not to pursue as yet. In the light of so complex an organic urge, the theories of physiology and anatomy can be seen to be well-nigh helpless in meeting the problem. It cannot suffice to rely on measurements, weights, or chemical and physical formulæ.

The experimental or laboratory psychologist concerns himself with adolescence as if it were in some unique way a stage of development where new and wholly unexpected opportunities for experiment are provided. To him, the adolescent is a crude and clumsy machine which has but lately acquired a rather surprising capacity for increased power and speed. In the atmosphere of the laboratory, this instrument is capable of being subjected to all sorts of tests. Ingenious devices for carrying out, tabulating, and arranging these tests are planned. The adolescent viewed as a mechanism is one of the favorite topics for psychological research and much information has resulted from such study. Yet it seems, on the whole, to be without vital significance because it fails to fill in the picture that a living problem with an ever-changing background of specific personality demands. No satisfactory figure of the adolescent can be expected to emerge from research of this type which is concerned with details and not completed structures; but the results cannot be ignored because certain detached and relevant pieces of information can often be found and used. There is much of value in a properly selected and carefully evaluated sifting of this kind of material.

A suggestive and interesting attempt to approach the adolescent is through the medium of intelligence measurement. This is a device which actually aims at measuring and analyzing intelligence so that the adolescent may be classed not only in his own group, but in reference to all other groups. It is part of the expectation of this interesting movement in present-day psychology that something may finally be obtained in the way of specific reactions characteristic of the adolescent period and none other. If ratios of value can be calculated, graded, and graphically represented, then it is hoped that a formula may be derived which will define the adolescent and which will apply to him alone. In other words, some specific intelligence reaction will be discovered in so many adolescents that it will be accepted as evidence that he has reached that stage in his development. Out of these reactions, something may be identified which upon analysis will furnish enough data to make possible a reconstruction of the adolescent as far, at least, as his mental qualities are concerned. Single and simple traits might then be evolved much in the same way that the elements composing an intricate chemical substance may be subjected to further and further and finer and finer analysis. Every known factor, then, might finally be as well known as are the infinite varieties of chemical combination that go to make up the final structure in a complex substance. The formula of the adolescent might then be compared to the atomic weight of a metal in which the intelligence quotient takes the place of the mathematical symbol in atomic weights. As a matter of fact, several such formulæ have been found. Each was derived, however, from the study of a particular group of children and each formula has a definite quality which serves to characterize the reaction type of that group and no other. For example, the knowledge of the significance of an abstract idea is one often used as a key test. If the one suspected of adolescence meets such a test, then he belongs to the adolescent group no matter where he might belong by any other qualifications. Further analysis follows this test. Such a method may be compared to the study, for example, of the element water from the chemical formula H_2O. H_2O is the symbol for water and nothing else; it identifies water and no other thing. If everything were known about these two elements and if the laws of their combination were known also, then there would be absolute knowledge of the substance water. An inquiry once started as a result of this absolute knowledge would, no doubt, carry one far afield into the investigation of all sorts of side issues such as the history of water, its biological significance, or other matters which at first sight would seem to be irrelevant. This imperfect analogy may serve to show that, in spite of all this accurate information in regard to the formula, only the first step in acquiring an understanding of the subject as a whole has been reached. Because a garment may fit a person, the study of the garment gives very little real insight into the kind of being it is meant to cover or only very vague and general kinds of information at best. Within limits, however, intelligence studies are of value. They have the merit of the direct attack and they seek a method of accuracy. The method is sharply opposed to merely speculative inquiry which at all times has had a vogue in the study of children. The weakness of intelligence tests is apparent. They depend too much upon standardization and do not allow for the biological fact that stresses the essential truth of differences rather than of similarities. It is obvious that a more elastic system is needed, one that has to do with mechanism rather than with simple facts, especially since intelligence measurements are on the whole obtained by methods which are highly artificial. The subsequent analysis that follows the acquisition of the adolescent formula must break down as soon as it is applied to the individual. Adolescence is a shifting stage in development and there can be no set characteristics which might delimit a certain group from any other group. An evident adolescent cannot be excluded from the group because he fails to reach a certain level or to respond correctly to certain tests. The formula must be so basic that each responds to it or it fails completely. A chemical formula is of no use if there are exceptions to it.

This very brief survey into methods cannot be concluded unless something is said about another source of information, nontechnical, belonging to no system, and boasting of no leader. Reference has been made to the accumulation of ideas derived from writers, poets, artists, and others who have written, spoken, or symbolized in their work this stage of man's life. Every age has contributed to this storehouse of information and as long as the human race delights in stories and the fruits of the imagination so long will that kind of knowledge of the adolescent be enriched.

It is difficult to estimate the value of this contribution. Much of our traditional knowledge is derived in some fashion or other from those who in poetry, fiction, biography, autobiography, and other types of artistic expression, often in imperishable form, have depicted the developing boy or girl in that stage of growth in which dreams, fancy, intuition, the subtle impress of love and devotion are beginning to manifest themselves. No consideration of the material out of which a knowledge of the adolescent is to be built up can possibly ignore this contribution. It is older by far than the sum total of scientific effort in this direction. It is important not on account of its antiquity alone, but because it implies that during all the ages adolescence has exercised a peculiar fascination for the gifted imagination of men and women with the capacity to express such impulses emotionally. This is the method of description and observation and not of experiment. No object was sought and there was no theory to be tested and proven. The use of the data obtained by observation and the intangible penetration of self into the imagined personality of heroes and heroines in countless tales, stories, legends, poems, and artistic creations of all sorts make up this mass of material. The absence of preconceptions, theories, figures, and formulæ is a notable characteristic of this material. Its totally unconscious attitude toward a self-appointed task of increasing human knowledge and the absence of any more serious purpose than the expression of an impulse toward creative expression sets it apart from all other sources at our disposal. For these reasons it should be regarded as one of the valuable and trustworthy sources of knowledge in the field of adolescence. Often indeed this storehouse of information is contemptuously ignored, especially if adolescence is approached with a so-called scientific attitude and if its investigation is planned upon a basis of laboratory research. Defining and theorizing about adolescence without the adolescent himself constantly before us is a lifeless effort. The most advantageous way of utilizing this material is to regard it as a common heritage, a material unclassified and widespread. The autobiographies, the biographies, novels, and poems of the world are full of significant items which throw light upon the obscurities of adolescence and give the searcher a hint, a point of view, an insight which is intensified as his study brings him into closer touch with his subject. This might well be described as the essential background of all that is being done and likely to be done. To regard it as a kind of fundamental knowledge is not overstressing its importance. The fact that there is no way by which the material can be classified does not in the least detract from its importance nor does the fact that no direct reference to this or that item as upholding or weakening a theory or point of view matter. The fact that this source of information about adolescence exists, is sufficient acknowledgment of its value.

In general these are the outstanding sources and these the more important ideas, theories, and approaches. The final method is to be devised from a consideration of all of them. No one of them gives more than a glimpse, a hint, and a suggestion. They are after all external sources removed entirely from the adolescent and it is he himself that must be the center of all attempts to understand the complex problem which he represents. Locked up in his personality lies the solution of all that is meant by the term adolescence. He alone is in possession of the secret. The difficulty, however, is manysided. If the adolescent could tell all about himself it would mean that his attention and interest would be so excessively aroused that the bias of his own concern about himself would invalidate the information so obtained. The conscious attitude would dull the perspective and confuse the picture. The more normal the adolescent is, the less he is concerned about informing others as to the things that are happening in the recesses of his own mind. The abnormal types are too far away from the average to give exact data applicable to the whole. It is the deviated types that seem to be most eager to talk of themselves. Then too, and this is of importance, the whole of every happening is not within the compass of consciousness and this state of unawareness removes from objective scrutiny a mass of material that might prove of great value. An *impasse* is thus created that ought to do much to prevent dogmatism and fixed opinions that are too rigid. That this *impasse* is somewhat theoretical is of course true, for if it were not, then nothing further could be done. There are ways of getting around seemingly obstinate obstacles in matters pertaining to personalities. The obvious way is to try to view the person in as detached a manner as possible and to avoid putting into his problem those of one's own and further to make guarded use of any and all methods which seem to promise accurate information. This is the method which will be followed in the pages that follow and the result must speak for itself. If some fresh point of view can be brought out and if some information is gained it is as much as can be hoped for at this stage of imperfection in the study of a living human organism at any stage in his life.

CHAPTER V

THE ADOLESCENT AND SOME OF HIS MECHANISMS

A REVIEW of the methods by which adolescence can be studied and a more or less critical survey of the sources from which information may be derived lead naturally to a consideration of the meaning of this term and an attempt to define it. Adolescence should in some fashion stand out as something a good deal more tangible than a kind of passing phase in the life history of an individual. There is a well-known tendency to see in the various phases of a living being periods of growth and development corresponding in a general way to changes in physical conformation, habits, altered social relations, and the many adjustments which are essential to social requirements. Conventional terms are devised in order to type the child at given phases of his life. This tendency to divide up man's life from birth to death into fixed periods is as old as man's curiosity about himself, and that is very old indeed. The prenatal phase has come under the scope of inquiry while that longish period after death still remains somewhat speculative. With these exceptions the remainder of man's life is open to observation, study, and to some extent to experiment. Perhaps no better example of the periodic point of view exists than the poet's "seven ages" and perhaps no one has better characterized the essential differences between them. At the present time, however, interest is centered on a more tangible and practical attitude and something more realistic than the poet's fancy and imagination is needed. There is a desire to subject not only man's life as a biological phenomenon to whatever scientific scrutiny is possible, but also to examine and analyze each phase or period. Man as a social and man as a biological unit are no longer studied along parallel lines, but are essentially one problem, highly complex, often inchoate, seemingly undecipherable, but nevertheless the most common and significant problem in existence.

To that part of man's life which is roughly bounded by the beginning and completion of maturity much interest has always attached because it is in the unfolding period that processes are less complex and hidden than in the finished state. As man develops into his more rigid and unchangeable final form he goes through an experimental and adjusting period during which the elements of his future personality can be observed. Roughly speaking this is what is commonly called adolescence.

While most of the emphasis will be placed upon the mental phases of adolescence in these chapters, it must not be forgotten that no sharp line separates them from their physical complements. It is the adolescent as a whole, as a complete figure, that compels interest. There seems, however, to be no essential parallelism between adolescence as a purely physical phenomenon, that is, growth, and the adolescent personality, state of mind, content of consciousness, behavior reactions—whatever it may be termed.

Adolescence, from the point of view of this book, is that period in the life cycle which represents impulses towards conscious social adjustments and the overcoming of conflicts, which naturally arise, by their final molding into sets of habitual patterns. The dynamics behind these impulses are intimately associated with the rhythm of growth in which glandular activities, including those of reproduction, are of importance.

It is possible to characterize in a few words the predominating psychological characteristics of certain well-defined periods in the life cycle of a pre-adolescent child as a kind of preparation for the sudden inrush of impressions, ideas, and associations which usher in adolescence. The infant phase is largely pure instinct in which stimuli, excitation, and response are associated with nutritional necessities—food, warmth, quiet, sleep, and the vague beginnings of purposeful movements looking to change of place and position. These with coördinating muscle effort towards independent mobility are perhaps the most significant items. The organization of these instinctive impulses into some pattern of habitual action influenced by environmental experience of a restricted and protected kind are noteworthy features of the second period which for purposes of description may be called early childhood. It is here perhaps that elements of our common social inheritance are laid down, chiefly as a result of commands, orders, and disciplinary maneuvers of various kinds. The source of authority and the origin of control are parental or representative of that source—nurse, elder brother or sister. The taboos, customs, conventions, fears, superstitions, and all the rest of our social plunder are handed out and accepted, some painfully, it should be admitted, some without question, and all without debate. The chief social mechanism is the slowly developing faculty of speech, by which the child is brought into relation with his environment other than by physical contact. The social inhibitions are no longer put into force by physical means alone but by the use of words, phrases, and commands. The child not only learns to talk but is also instructed what not to say or often to say it in some other way. In this simple fashion the repression faculty is given opportunity to develop and the devious uses of speech to hide meaning and to distract attention are duly exercised. Repression may be defined as that impulse or that tendency to obstruct or alter a piece of conduct which for the time being seems to be logical, natural, instinctive, or pressing. The fulfillment of action in line with the demands of the organism is prevented and the resulting conduct may be very different from that which has been contemplated or there may be no action at all. The mechanism of obstruction derives its energy from social demands on the one hand and from personal considerations on the other. In a primitive sense repression has in view the safeguarding of the individual, either as one of a group unit or as a free individual, compelling in either instance a type of conduct in conformity with the usage of the group or preventing a destructive or dangerous reaction in the face of the unexpected, surprising, or startling. The resulting conduct may then be said to be adapted to the situation, all things being considered. Adaptation and repression are thus seen to be of one piece and are both of them perhaps the most important psychological mechanisms with which the developing child is furnished. They arise from very simple beginnings such as commands in infancy, training schemes of one kind and another, habit formulations, and all the various types of instruction to which a small being from infancy up is exposed.

Repression however is not only applicable to types of conduct but has its representative mechanism in the world of ideas as well. Not only is it possible to alter or obstruct types of action but it is equally feasible to obstruct, alter, or dim the outline of ideas or idea groups. The same mechanism from its protective aspect is at work. Such idea groups as arise out of situations which demand their representation can be altered, changed, or completely obliterated from conscious recognition. In such instances the repression arises out of a purely personal necessity and the social aspect of repression scarcely exists. When idea groups are of themselves distasteful, unpleasing, lead to disagreeable feelings, or produce sensations of declining self-esteem they tend to be released from the level of recognition or are so changed that their effect on the individual is no longer felt.

As ideas in the sense that they are here used usually demand some kind of expression in terms of action the faculty of repression is seen to embrace a very wide group of mental phenomena and the connection between ideas and conduct is so close that it is no longer necessary to treat them apart. That no observable piece of conduct results in one instance and does result in another is a difference in the final play of the mechanism and not in its essential purpose.

In both types of repression, that having to do with actions and that concerned with ideas, the state of awareness may alter. The individual may be perfectly conscious of what he is doing and what is going on. On the other hand, he may be in complete ignorance of what is going on, or the whole arrangement may be automatic, in which case by an effort he may be able to resurrect not only the tendencies to action but the impulses from which they arise. The whole of the repression mechanism is thus automatic, conscious, and unconscious, depending upon the kind of thing required, the kind of emergency which confronts the individual, and the quality of social requirement upon which the selection of conduct rests.

Social existence depends almost exclusively upon the mechanism of repression. Without it there would be social chaos; the individual would always be acting solely in the line of his own advantage and the group would eventually disappear, as would the individual lacking the necessary support of others. Examples of the mechanism of repression can therefore be best taken from ordinary social experience; the simplest examples are the most easily understood and their applicability to more complicated types of conduct may safely be assumed.

A simple type of repression is the overcoming of the acquisitive impulse. If one sees something that he very much wants to possess and this thing belongs to another his impulse to take it is obstructed or blocked by the social conception of property. However eager this demand may be he desists from translating it into action and leaves the desired article alone. This may require in given instances the exercise of what is called the will, which makes the process conscious, or it may be automatic or habitual, in which case by an effort the individual may become aware of the hidden blocking of his desire to possess. In another group of instances, however, the individual is unaware of the play of the whole mechanism. All that he is aware of is that he is doing something that seems strange and out of place and which has no direct relation to the thing he wants or the surroundings in which it is placed. His conduct at that moment is deviated so that it bears no relation to the simple fact of desire and an act of possession. He may, for instance, carry out a substitute type of conduct; he may whistle or sing or move aimlessly about or anything that gives an outlet to muscular action. On the other hand he may simply feel uncomfortable with a vague feeling of unrest or even of dissatisfaction with no assignable cause. In the majority of instances, however, nothing more than a vague or passing sensation is perceived or perhaps not even that much, so perfect has, by constant repetition, the mechanism of repression become. The multiplicity of social relations going on through the whole of the waking existence carries on so automatically that seldom is the individual aware of anything other than the normal play of his daily life. In unusual situations, however, the mechanism does not perform so noiselessly and smoothly and as a result repression comes out openly as a phenomenon, stimulating attention and often resulting in awakening an active mental participation. This is the phase of the matter which in the adolescent is important because in that period there is the beginning of a conscious attitude to society and in this interplay of contact and adjustment is found the conflict which is perhaps its most important and outstanding fact.

The social function of the developing personality in early childhood is restricted largely to contact of a family sort where liberty of action is limited. In play, games, and such amusements as are possible at this tender age, opportunity is given for one of the significant functions of consciousness—phantasy or imagination.

With the period of school the child enters, often abruptly, into a much broader social life and becomes in a sense a more independent unit; at least his contacts are broadened to include individuals out of touch with his own particular home circle. He is aware of numbers of other children and meets his first important test at social adjustment. His early experiences with inhibition or repression is about all the mechanism he possesses to meet this new demand. He steps into a world which he finds fully organized with its own authorities and its own laws, taboos, and orders, and discovers a rigidity of conduct often surprisingly similar to that of his own home, but curiously less individual. He becomes a part of a machine which functions with a regrettable degree of smoothness. Into this conventionalized life the school child usually fits smoothly and the cogwheels of his life move on with scarcely a noticeable jar.

This brief sketch is intended not only to outline the periods preceding adolescence but to suggest a few of the many important psychological mechanisms which are concerned in the rounding out of this period in the life of the developing child. It must be obvious, however, that the mere classification of such mechanisms means very little and that neither a child nor an adult is constructed of mechanistic items alone. It is impossible to understand a human being by arranging a series of mechanisms nor even by defining them after they are arranged. Rather the living reality must be observed and such phenomena as appear significant should be studied with reference to the whole expression of that particular individual. In this way certain reactions are noted, depending upon the possession of certain qualities or functions of consciousness. To these, fairly well-defined names have been given, or at any rate, names in such common use that they may be described and are a part of the capital assets of the developing child. From whence they arrive and how they come to be, exactly what function they play, and what they are made up of are matters beyond scientific scrutiny at this time as far as their essentials are concerned.

Instinctive acts, trends, or impulses are primitive reactions which are initiated and carried out without design, planning, or indeed without, in many instances, awareness. It is unimportant as far as their description is concerned just what they exactly are and what initiates them, nor is it of much concern whether there is justification for making a separate classification of such acts as different from another series of acts. The complicated discussions of instincts which fill the literature of the behavioristic school and play such an important part in the controversies over present-day psychology are of no interest here. There are certain acts which are almost instantaneous, that take place without the participation of awareness, are to a certain extent similar in all individuals in a given situation, and are mainly protective in character. They have to do largely with the impulse toward self-preservation and self-continuation. They form the larger portion of reactions in infancy and in the period succeeding. They form the substratum of the whole of the activity of a human being and they are never far off from the level of much more complicated and much more informed social acts of all kinds. Instinctive acts as a rule are individual and personal and have little to do with social contingencies. They are the acts as a whole which any living mechanism puts through so that it can exist as a unit. They are necessary for his existence and without them he would no longer live. Such activities are inborn and are a part of the mechanism of living. They do not have to be learned. It is the learning quality which differentiates them from the large series of acts which are called automatic or habitual.

Example of instinctive acts can be taken from any period of life; they are more common, of course, in the earlier years or weeks of life. As the individual grows, repression and adaptation function more and more definitely and the characteristics of planned action and purposely controlled conduct become more common. The sucking of an infant almost from the earliest hours of existence and the tendency to move its lips toward the breast of the mother is instinctive and fulfills all of the requirements of the definition that has been given. The various elementary defensive movements of the infant away from disagreeable or uncomfortable positions towards the warmth and the more favorable places are similar instances of instinctive movements. This class of movements and this type of conduct are too well known to need more than mention. In adult life the same mechanism may be seen in the more complicated types of conduct in the face of danger or apprehended risk. The defensive attitude in the face of an enemy or the crouched position when attacked by use of the hands and arms to shield that part of the body open to attack. Stepping away from something terrifying. These are examples. Many of the instinctive acts are the products of emotional states, chiefly of fear or dread, and act almost as if they were an integral part of the emotional process itself and they may well be. The act itself is so consequent to the emotional state that it is often exceedingly difficult to determine just when the state of feeling begins and the instinctive bit of conduct depending upon it ends. In many acts of this kind the emotion which initiates the act seems to increase its force so that there is a constant acceleration of the intensity of the performance along with increase of the emotional display. At times it is difficult to say just where the instinctive part of an act ends and where there is a trace of the participation of the will. As in so many of the psychological mechanisms, so in this one there is a tendency to the intermingling of several rather than the isolation of one. Many rather complex types of action apparently begin as instinctive acts and then continue along the instruction lines with clear participation of the will and with clear guidance of the intelligence.

Enough has been indicated, however, to justify the term instinctive acts and to suggest their place in the great system of defense of which they play so important a part. The overcoming, regulating, and adjusting of instinctive trends, impulses, and acts are the major task of training, education, and what may be generally called civilization. Repression and the consequent series of adaptative acts are therefore of particular significance in the evolution of the mental structure of the adolescent. The adolescent utilizes his early exercises in repression, which were mainly focused on the overcoming or directing of many of his instinctive impulses in line with the social usages common in that social group to which he belongs. It is this early training to which in the last analysis he must return when as he grows onward to maturity his sphere of contacts widens so enormously. Here the most significant items are instinctive and primitive tendencies, curiosity, adaptation, inhibitions, taboos, conventional conduct, repression and the escape through substitute types of action, imagination, phantasy, the heroic impulse and the personification of this impulse into actual and living persons, fear and dread among the emotions, and the apprehensive trends.

CHAPTER VI

THE ONSET OF ADOLESCENCE AND THE CONFLICT

SOME of the mental mechanisms which are active in developing the adolescent's mental growth have been touched upon in the preceding chapter. It is evident that only the outstanding elements in the complexity of the psychological structure have been mentioned, but these are sufficient to show the way along which the adolescent manages to be prepared for the rather rapid and often sudden demands which his environment makes upon him. With the sudden or gradual increase in sensitiveness to external sense impressions caused by the increased activity and capacity of the adolescent organism, a change in mental make-up and in mental capacity takes place.

This change is partly physical and at the same time psychical in the sense that there is an increased power or capacity of mental absorption or acquisitiveness.

The utilization and arrangement of the material which enters the mind is at the beginning so defective that it seems that the adolescent has, for the time being at least, become more than usually stupid and dull.

There are three important items in the growth and development of the adolescent at this period which are important in the process of adjustment that is so plainly going on. There is first of all the acceleration of physical growth. There is secondly what may be described as a sort of mental expansion, and thirdly there is the glandular activation and with it, or an essential part of it, special sex growth. This last is made up of the physical or anatomical, the physiological or functional, and the participation of the rôle of consciousness in the whole process. The adolescent is increasingly aware, therefore, of a sort of new thing that has come into his life and often this is the most striking of all the phenomena that he becomes aware of at this time. Too much importance can scarcely be directed to the ideas clustering about the anatomically and physiologically insistent organs of sex. Sex and sex differentiation become settled and observable facts. It is more important to think of sex in relation to the conflicts of adolescence from the point of view of its actual and tangible presence in an anatomical or physiological sense than to weave fantastic theories of violent repressive efforts and substitution maneuvers and all the rest of the complicated notions which latter-day psychology insists upon. If a start is made with the actual fact of sex and sex differentiation and the insistency with which these things present themselves to the adolescent's attention a good deal of confusion will be avoided and a more valuable insight will be obtained. Sex conflicts in the ordinary sense and from the standpoint of the adult mental mechanisms which are insisted upon with so much energy in almost all the descriptions of the adolescent in present-day literature are not the products of careful investigations of the actual adolescent, but appear to be thrust into the picture on some preconceived basis. Much will later be said on this point but it is well to emphasize the notion that while sex is important in the adolescent, it should be looked at as an adolescent and not as an adult phenomenon with all the complications associated with the latter period and with its many social implications.

As the process of dovetailing the various mechanisms in the adolescent's development goes on, a new sense of personal awareness gradually unfolds. The complete organism asserts itself and a personal entity makes itself felt in the consciousness of the adolescent.

The adolescent in a sense begins to feel himself and to establish a precise sense of personal awareness. The oft-mentioned self-consciousness of the maturing boy or girl has in this regard a positive material framework, preceding the realization and formation of the existence of the self as a definite thing and as a distinct and recognizable figure. The extraordinary interest which this phenomenon creates and the conviction that there is ready a mechanism for its study, is one of the most outstanding characteristics of the adolescent mind, that is, its quality of introspection. Contemplation of self and the fascination of becoming acquainted with it are activities which to the adolescent far surpass in interest the world of reality in which for the first time he consciously feels himself. Past impressions, ideas, experiences, vague formulations of all sorts of notions, fears, doubts, phantasies, and dreams have to be organized about and within this new figure. At the same time that activities of this kind are going on, the outside world is pouring in new sense experiences, new activities, and the impress of contacts. The word "new" is used in this place because it is the sharpened sense of realization that furnishes the novelty, not the fact that they have not occurred before. Previously known material must be adjusted to recently acquired experiences and some sort of compromise has to be worked out so that the adolescent does not, so to speak, "blow up."

It is possible to set down now in some sort of orderly fashion the outstanding adolescent features. Some of them are the beginnings and elaborations of personality of a conscious sort—awareness and the sharpening of the conception of being a separate unit in a social group; which is distinct, and often mutually antagonistic. There is, too, the sense, doubtless very slight in most instances, of some sort of struggle for survival. This may be merely an echo derived from the infantile struggle to exist now made realistic by the understood presence of one among the many. The development of the primitive beginning of introspection with its effect in the formation of the inner life and the almost automatic grouping there of what seems most precious and worth while are typical adolescent characteristics. The richness and variety of this inner world differs enormously, but some trace of it is always found in the dullest and least imaginative adolescent. There is, too, a marked trend towards abstract conceptions. The childish idea of good was to be good, of truth was not to tell a lie, of religion was to go to Sunday school, etc.; now a vague reaching out for the concept itself becomes manifest. There is a transfer of interest from performance to motive, purpose, and meaning.

The question mark is more important than the period, and the question itself more vital than the acceptance of an answer. The sharply accented awareness of a world outside one's self, a rather awkward, stupid, and misunderstanding world, turns the adolescent mind away from reality into that more splendid and fascinating place in his own mind where he walks heroic, unafraid, and the center of things. The mystery, the urge, and yet the fear of sex create a complex state, which becomes now a tangible thing associated with the whole phenomenon of reproduction, developing out of infantile ideas and crude, defective, primitive information. There is also a reawakening of childish fears in the presence of a world more definitely present but less understood. The groping for some authoritative figure, less dull and more understanding than parents, teachers, or companions, suggests the reason for the adolescent's sudden interest in religion and the awakening of what might be called, with a good deal of reservation, the mystic attitude.

Out of the sudden awakening of the internal mental life and with the more frequent use of introspection, a definitely direct impulse to consciousness of self and personality comes about. The richness of this period as far as mental possessions is concerned differs widely, as does also the amount and quality of the introspective tendencies. Whatever this difference may be there results one of the outstanding features of all adolescent types, that is, conduct, characterized by shyness, awkwardness, reserve, moodiness, embarrassment, etc. Seeking some kind of outward expression it finds the muscular mechanism inadequate.

The rapid adolescent growth, increase in weight, heart capacity, etc., touched upon in the earlier chapters, are not as yet properly trained, measured, and adapted to the swiftly increasing demands that spring up insistently in the adolescent; hence, the awkward movements, the restlessness, and the clumsiness that are characteristic of this period. The adolescent is trying out, so to speak, a muscular machinery that gets away from control. The system of regulation which formerly was adequate for a much less powerful apparatus is defective.

It is obvious that the clumsiness and awkwardness are not only due to the lack of proportional growth of the physical apparatus alone, but also to the increase in mental mechanisms which find in the muscles and the other anatomical structures of the body a less ready and a less facilitated outlet. There is, it may be said, not enough practice. So much of the mental content at any one time demands a physical expression that when sudden acceleration in growth takes place there is no means of physical expression and the pathway outward is blocked. There is no way to appreciate the external aspects of the adolescent other than to attempt to look at him as a sort of living machine with the capacity of that machine overburdened for a time by the demands made upon it. There is almost a state of conflict between what the body is able to do and what the content of the mind insists that the body do. If that content is examined, certain things become clear, explaining, to a degree, at any rate, why it is that the adolescent shows such a definite lack of capacity to arrange and organize in orderly fashion the new devices which have arisen in his consciousness. A period of adjustment is necessary and the pause that is required for this purpose is managed by the adolescent by the simplest device that he knows of, that of immobility.

Things are apparent now which before were not evident and to mention some of them will tend to clarify the situation up to this point.

The awakening of self-consciousness, the capacity for introspection, the intense realization of a vast territory of unexplored mental experiences are important. There comes too a settled conviction that there is ready a means of appreciating all this through the mind itself. An adolescent soon learns not only that he has something in his mind but that these things are his and that he is ~~the~~ ~~only~~ one who can see into them. The tendency for the adolescent to withdraw into himself, which so often alarms the parent, is the natural and normal trying out of an intensely interesting new mental mechanism. There is too an additional instrument for expression which the so-called imaginative child becomes increasingly fond of, that is, daydreaming. This is the extension of mental experience through fancy, uninfluenced by space or time, and no doubt joined to the early and more clumsy efforts at this pastime.

Over and against all this and surrounding it, enclosing the adolescent like a shell of metal, so resistant, hard, and inelastic it seems, is the world of reality, of people, authority, inflexible social and traditional customs, taboos, commands, duties, tasks, and responsibilities. The adolescent might well say with Marchbank in "Candida," "I wish I could find a country where the facts were not brutal and the dreams not unreal." Out of this situation there develops that first serious revolt against what seems wholly unnecessary. This may often be so slight as to be imperceptible and then again of a flamelike intensity that creates the most annoying social results. This is the basis of that conflict tendency seen in every mind but especially characteristic of the adolescent because it is so free, fresh, and innocent.

No understanding of the adolescent mind can be obtained unless the adolescent conflict is appreciated. It arises from the lack of adaptation to the world outside which the inrush of mental expansions brings about. The adolescent is characterized by physical expansion, by the influence exercised through the awakening functions of the sex glands, by the development of introspection and consciousness of self, by the evident ownership of mental processes. The antagonism between these and the external world, the conflict arising out of the repressive measures so necessary for social adaptation are items in the composite picture. To these must be added the conduct and behavior reactions previously alluded to.

Such is a sketch of the adolescent at this period.

Out of all this and much more that is not known arises that distinctive characteristic of the period which separates the adolescent once for all from his previous childhood state—the adolescent conflict. Some of the sources of this conflict have been mentioned. That it is the key to the understanding of this period there cannot be much doubt. The essential release is through some measure of adaptation and adjustment.

Conflict between the individual and the environment is a biological fact which is as old as the first appearance of a living thing on this earth. The solution of the conflict is the secret of existence, the failure to solve it means death. This is one of the ascertainable facts of existence and one which is capable not only of observation, but of experiment. The device by which a biological conflict is solved is by adaptative methods of some kind so that an adjustment results. It is due to some rearrangement of things, some fitting into the required, some smoothing out of opposing antagonisms, that adjustment is brought about. The adolescent makes use of some of the many devices and thus can continue. The importance of the conflict and the adjustment for him at this stage in his growth is due to the fact that most of the difficulty lies in the social sphere. The situation is further complicated by virtue of the circumstance that for the first time, at any rate in any important way, the adjustment is conscious. This typifies the adolescent conflict and its problems at adaptation. In this sense there are initiated maneuvers which in some form or other will be present for the remainder of his life.

It might be said that the adolescent period is the preparatory shifting ground for future adjustment and adaptative maneuvers for overcoming or compromising with environmental conflicts.

The adolescent conflict being the central fact of the problem of adolescence, it is necessary to give this mechanism more detailed attention and attempt to see into it more clearly. The term conflict is understandable and the meaning is essentially that in common usage. The term opposition connotes perhaps a bit better just what reaction is aroused when the adolescent comes in contact with his environment. The opposition then arouses the conflict and causes the attitude of revolt. Here then is the setting of the adolescent problem and if the various elements in it are examined a good deal of information may be obtained; certainly enough upon which to base some kind of scheme or plan through which the rough edges of this conflict may be smoothed out a bit and the course of life made less difficult.

It is obvious that in calling this phase of life a conflict phase no constant series of actual antagonisms is conceived and no detailed account of actual episodes is required. Rather is the conflict a state of being, a general attitude of ill-defined opposition which colors and furnishes a background out of which interpretative endeavors in relation to conduct may be based. If conflict is seen as something fundamental in all human or indeed in all living things then a biological basis is given to all further examinations of the processes, physical or psychical, which the adolescent presents.

In all living things there exists a constant state of conflict brought about primarily by the necessity of adaptation to environmental resistance. A living organism must either overcome, compromise with, or evade these unfavorable factors or he will be destroyed or so weakened that his further existence is problematical.

To live and to continue to live is in most instances a constant effort. Man is set down in an environment on the whole inimical to him and hostile to his continual being. This environment contains many harmful and destructive things. Some of these are the natural and normal elements out of which any environment is made up—such things as cold, heat, wetness or dryness, and intemperate qualities of nature to which his peculiar physical characteristics are not fitted. To live at all, provision must be made for protection in such a fashion as to escape the destructive influence of these things. Existence is only possible under the screen of such a protection.

The early experience of the human race was concerned chiefly with measures of protection in respect to the elementary facts of his daily life. Provision for food, shelter from the extremes of heat and cold, and defense against the forces of nature in general have become through the ages a heritage which at the present is taken for granted. These things are mentioned to show that the environmental conflict is a sustained and biologically proven fact and is as much a part of terrestrial experience as any other fact of prime significance in life.

The effort to exist implies a conflict and this conflict is a necessary part of any conception of life so far devised. In the case of infants and children protection against the elementary facts of a hostile environment is furnished by the natural guardians which society has provided. Parents, guardians, or institutions of one kind or another step in and guard the child. That this protection is even now not perfectly efficient can be seen from the high infant mortality rate in almost all civilized countries.

Up to the adolescent period this guardianship exists almost automatically and then gradually tends to become less effective as the time approaches when the child can in some measure prepare for and provide for the maintenance of his own existence through his own efforts. Somewhere in the course of this development comes the trace of a realization of the struggle to exist and the conscious awareness of this fact. This marks in a sense the beginnings of the adolescent period. This statement will be further elaborated but it is set down here because it is important and because it seems to fit in naturally with the conception of a primitive struggle and the conflict arising out of it. The existence of environmental danger is not only an evident thing in itself, but it carries with it that kind of realization which to the adolescent is of primary importance, that is, the idea and conception of death. Sooner or later it is forced upon the understanding of any human being in relation to any environment that failure to win over the dangerous elements means that living is not possible and that death results. Put in a bald way, this notion is capable of permitting us to understand something of the states of fear which take hold of the adolescent when he first becomes aware of the biologically primitive fact of destruction. Perhaps the necessary presence of such a conflict provides the essential stimulus behind the impulse to exist. It seems impossible to think of life except in some dynamic sense and this is found in the idea of conflict and the stimulus to achieve victory.

While the biological fact of the destructiveness of the environment and the constant need of measures to meet it is true and needs no argument to prove it to be true, the recognition of this fact as a constant and ever present thing is not frequent. The whole matter and manner of living is taken for granted. In neither the adult nor the adolescent is the problem of existence and the naked fact of the imminence of destruction, a constant material presence in the field of awareness. It is normal and a natural thing to ignore so unpleasant an idea as that. There are various devices by which so terrifying a fact is pushed down in the lower levels of consciousness so that the orderly course of human interests and the daily necessities of meeting more tangible realities are not interfered with. It is only on occasion that the awareness of this fact becomes apparent and often is so disguised that the idea is lost and only the vague emotional state associated with it remains. A state of confused apprehension and dread without ascertainable cause indicates that there has been some disturbance in consciousness associated with the sense of the individual alone in the presence of the terrorizing elements in a hostile environment. The presence of such a vague sense of terror, fear, apprehension, and dread in the adult necessitates the conclusion that something of the same sort happens to the adolescent. Among the many kinds of semi-submerged complex of ideas which make up the conflict structure of the adolescent, some importance must be placed upon the presence of the concept of the biological struggle to exist and the imminence of death and destruction. It is very likely true that in the adolescent such ideas are more common than in the adult, and while they are apt to be less clearly defined and less definitely conceived of, yet they make more of an emotional display because the adolescent has not yet learned as perfectly as the adult has, how to arrange disagreeable ideas in their proper place in the submerged level in consciousness, the storehouse for the unpleasant facts of life.

There seems to be a marked difference between the child and the adolescent in this respect. It may be one of the dividing lines separating these two development stages. Experiences of a dangerous or destructive kind that happen to a child are not as a rule associated with environmental dangers as such. Such adaptations of a safeguarding kind are automatically fashioned and each experience of a like kind is similarly handled. If, for example, a child falls down a step and hurts himself he tends to guard against a similar contingency. Experience teaches him to avoid danger, and parental instruction and command take the place of experience when occasion requires.

The pre-adolescent child does not have the capacity to construct out of his average experiences notions of environmental conflict of which he is the central figure. Awareness of such a fact marks a further advance in mental development which roughly separates the adolescent from the pre-adolescent period. There are certain exceptions. Children are found now and then who seem to sense as definitely as the adolescent does the conflict and the environmental nature of its origin. Such children have been exposed to unusual stresses and dangers and their experiences have been altogether of an adult type or at least such as are more common in more advanced years. There are also emotionally unstable children whose existence seems permeated with sensations of dread and terror derived from personal experiences. To them family or racial tragedies have become an integral part of their mental life. Such children, for example, are those who have been exposed to periods of terror or who have been through personal experiences of a tragic kind or who have lived in childhood in an atmosphere of apprehension and fear. Examples of pre-adolescent sensitiveness to the idea of environmental conflict are common enough. It is fortunate that they form such a minority in comparison to the usual experience. The pre-adolescents that might be included form the exceptions.

The awareness of, or the consciousness of, a conflict and the revolt which follows on its account occur at the beginning of adolescence and demark that period with its most characteristic and specific element. When this becomes in the slightest degree apparent and forms the object of the least bit of conscious scrutiny the period of adolescence may be said to have been initiated. This conflict does not begin or end with the idea of danger in the ordinary sense of that term. It is much more complicated than that. It is the whole of the environment which is concerned. This is composed not only of things, persons, institutions, and qualities but also of the intangible press of views, customs, and habits of those who make up and are a part of the environmental procession in which the child is just one and often a solitary figure. A maturing child is seen therefore as a figure compelled by the stress of circumstances to join in and become an integral part of a firmly knit organization. The hesitation that is shown is natural and normal. This episode of hesitation may be an analogous way of describing the stage of adolescence. A sympathetic study of this state may furnish insight into the mental and physical reactions of the child as he then is. The environment stands out as the crystallization of opposition. It contains all the elements of the external conflict. It is the tangible element of his reality. The child must be thought of as surrounded and enmeshed by and with it. This is a biological statement of the problem. The biological necessities of adaptation and adjustment are as necessary to the child as they are to the most primitive of living organisms. In a broad sense the necessity of fitting the individual into the place in life that he must eventually occupy is the successful answer to the conflict between his environment and himself. Exception may be expressed at so mechanistic a conception of life. In the study of the adolescent conflict there is little place for philosophical systems. Call this a symbolic interpretation perhaps, but any serious thinking about it will soon show that something like this must happen and observation shows that it does.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXTERNAL WORLD AND THE CONFLICT

IT is necessary to expand the conception of conflict so that it may be brought more intimately into relation with the external world of the adolescent. The mere statement that there is a conflict and that the adolescent reacts to it, as well as the assumption that a conflict implies thus and so, does not imply the necessary dynamic quality which should be found in so vital a mechanism. Conflict assumes an active, not a static state of things. It implies not only a state of striving but something to strive against. There is in opposition something dynamic, something that implies not passive resistance alone, but something in the nature of an attack. There is a mutual reaction, an elasticity of effort which endows each part of the conflict with vitality. The adolescent is striving against the environment and that environment is a product of living beings. The institutions arising out of them are alive and full of vitality, as are their origins. The environment in a previous description was referred to as an inelastic shell. So it would appear to the outside observer, but to the adolescent this shell is filled with the force and the pushfulness of a living wall which encircles him with the devilish ingenuity of a purposeful mechanism.

There are forces behind the development of a child to which scrutiny is vainly directed. No direct thread of cause and result can be followed. Impulses of great sweep and power intimately concerned with vital processes of growth, glandular excitation, and maturing sexual functions influence, direct, or deviate action in such a complex manner that there appears to be no logical relation between what happens and what energies were at work. The action of a living thing as viewed from the outside as an observable phenomenon is called conduct. A human being in the daily performance of his environmental action and reaction may be viewed as a succession of conduct phenomena. The analysis and interpretation of these in relation to the whole of his being would explain a good deal about him and lead to an understanding of the content of his mind at any one time. If conduct were always a direct result of a definite stimulus and if such and such a kind of stimulus would always produce identical conduct then the problem would only be one of classification and statistics. There is however many an intervening mechanism that tends to deviate conduct so that the final result seems to bear no relation to the sources of causation.

The springs of conduct may be direct so that it is easily understood. If, for example, an individual is given something that he likes, his facial expression denotes pleasure, he says something that indicates he is pleased, he does things with his hands, perhaps shakes the hand of the giver or he shows the gift about with evident pride. Such a piece of conduct or pieces of conduct are understood and need no effort at interpretation.

If a person is out walking and is overtaken by a storm, he notes the state of the weather, looks at the skies, puts out his hand to see if it is raining. He seeks shelter, finds a doorway, enters it, and leaves it after the storm is over.

There is no need of doing more than observe his actions to fully understand what it is all about. The springs of action and the results in terms of muscular effect are clear-cut, logical, and understandable. You, yourself, the observer, would do about the same thing in the same sort of circumstances.

If, on the other hand, an individual is observed to do something that appears to bear no direct relation to the circumstances in which he is placed, the conduct is the result of some hidden force or forces not apparent to the observer and possibly even to the doer. If in the midst of an interesting play a spectator is seen suddenly to get out of his seat and with a good deal of noise put on his coat and leisurely make his way out of the theater, there is something bizarre about his conduct which arouses speculation on the part of the observer. A number of causes might be thought of. The chances of hitting the right one are not great becauses there is nothing in the type of conduct and the circumstances in which it occurs to connect the two. One of several things might lie behind this socially wrong piece of action. The only method of understanding it would be to ask about it. The explanation might be perfectly understandable if all the facts were known. Mere observation will not do. Examples of this kind of conduct are so common that repetition of instances would merely confirm the accuracy of the statement that conduct may be indirect in relation to cause.

In this last instance it is assumed that the reasons for the conduct are known to the performer. There are many kinds of conduct, however, in which the causation is absolutely unknown to the individual who carries them out. He is as much puzzled by the result of what he does as is the observer and often more so. There are various names given to such types of conduct. Sublimation is one of the newer methods of expressing the unconscious sources of conduct which arise out of certain needs of the individual and fulfill certain demands of his personality. For example, a person who, because of some personal tragic happening or some conflict in his life, turns to an activity totally at variance with his previous tendencies, being driven that way by nothing in his own mind that he understands or is aware of, is carrying out a sublimated set of activities. A timorous child loves to watch fights, reads about fights and engages in the pantomime of fighting whenever he can. He uses the technical terms of fighting and plays the part of a pugnacious person whenever and as often as he can. Such a one may be said to sublimate his cowardice and translate it into terms of conduct which indicate his desire to play a part of bravery and courage. The hidden motive in this instance is not very complex because the transference is not involved. A more complex situation is met with when the whole trend and course of life changes and the external aspect of the individual seems to alter. The urge to lead a life devoted to altruistic endeavors on the part of one to whom such interests have been altogether foreign may arise out of hidden motivations that are not less mysterious to the performer than they are to his friends and acquaintances. A woman disappointed in some love affair takes to nursing the sick, enters a training school and becomes a part of a social activity so far removed from her natural and normal social leanings that there seems no connection between what she is now doing and anything in her previous life that would suggest that type of conduct.

We have seen profiteers in the late War devoting their energies and money to peace propaganda. We often see a tyrannical, hard-fisted, and hard-boiled industrial leader giving large sums of money to found an art museum or otherwise returning to the community masses of the money he has taken from it. These are rather crude examples of the sublimation of impulses and the redirection of them into performances which, on the surface at least, bear no logical relation to the manner of thought, the tendencies, and the personal coloring of the one who carries them out.

This somewhat long introduction to conduct and its queer manifestations is for the purpose of connecting the conflict to its natural manifestation, that is, conduct. Nothing in the idea of conflict is so important as what is done and how the individual handles himself in relation to it. Conflict without conduct is a meaningless use of a word. The adolescent with conflict in his make-up would without action be as meaningless as if he were described by the color and pattern of his clothes. Adolescent conflict then is manifested by some kind of conduct and the interpretation of conduct is in relation to the environment out of which the conflict arises. The adolescent is now seen as an individual who is in conflict with his environment, as is, of course, every other individual. The characteristic, however, of the adolescent is that he is beginning to be aware of the conflict as he is becoming conscious of his environment. It is now necessary to describe certain moods and certain mental states which are destined to influence conduct but which for the time being can be examined apart from performance. They are, it is necessary to state, often the consequences of conflict awareness.

The adolescent often gives proof of the difficulty by certain devices rather than by actual performance. Dissatisfaction becomes known by mental states like moodiness and the desire to keep away from actuality through looking within. This is called introversion. It means simply that there is a giving way to the tendency to look into one's self rather than keeping in touch with the world of external reality. This sort of mental mechanism is nothing new to the child; it has served its purpose before as a refuge from the difficulties of the external world. Its use now obscures, or, at least, partially replaces the sense of powerlessness which takes hold of the mind when the choice of the proper path is uncertain. The state of contemplation that is thus produced functions crudely in the beginning but gains in efficiency as the material becomes better and better organized. The child busied with the contents of his own mind and steadily growing away from the world of actuality adds constantly to the material upon which contemplation may be exercised. His attention is directed to the mass of previous experience, truths that have been handed to him, false ideas obtained from who knows what source, things out of books, prejudices, superstitions, taboos, customs, habits, and all the mixed-up impressions to which his growing intelligence has been exposed.

All of this may in a sense arise out of the environment. It is the partial and incomplete realization of this thing that produces the sense of an impending conflict. Adolescence then has come to mean that period in the life of a growing child in which there occurs for the first time in any positive fashion a conscious realization of the environmental conflict and a revolt and an attempt to find an escape from the existence, persistence, and necessity of such a state of things. This is a concept of adolescence that is largely psychological and social or that stresses at least the aspect of developing mental mechanism rather than the period of growth, age, incidence, or glandular maturity. This means also that emphasis is placed upon what happens in the mind rather than what manifestations this creates from the viewpoint of an observer. Some effort is therefore required to appreciate what is occurring in the mind of the child and what mechanisms are operating there. Inquiry directed to this end is often richly rewarded because the mind in conflict eagerly responds to suggestions from the outside if these suggestions contain some hope of release and some chance of solving the mystery.

There is no other way to understand the adolescent because his conduct is too much of a puzzle and is capable of so great a variety of interpretations. How is it known or how can it be known that such a mechanism exists? Does a theory as vital as this spring from the necessity of discovering some formula by which the problem of adolescence can be attacked? Is there, perhaps, some evidence derived from the adolescent himself which proves that adolescence without conflict is a meaningless term? These are some of the questions. It is obvious that the answer is not to be obtained from the laboratory and is not to be arrived at by experiment. The kind of investigation and scientific proof that chemistry or physics demand cannot be used here at all. The thing at issue is human personality and this is not subject to ordinary experimentation; it cannot be readily broken up into its elements and analyzed.

What can, to some extent, be known, is the setting, that is, the personality as it confronts the environment. Its components are capable of analysis because they are the common facts of the lives about us. They are in a sense the universals out of which is formed the world of visible experiences. Any contemplation of this world will show that existence is only possible by some sort of adaptation to the things about us. The very necessity of adaptation implies the existence of a conflict. There is then something universally biological in the conception of conflict. Without it existence is almost inconceivable. The adolescent shares this with the rest of the world. From this point of view conflict, under whatever name, is one of the most common of all human situations. It arises out of the necessity for the preservation of self and it takes its place beside the primary instincts as one of their most definite consequences. Conflict is thus seen to be intimately linked with instinctive conduct. It remains then to analyze the situations that are thus occasioned in order to lay the foundation for the acceptance of the truth of the existence of conflict processes as an essential to all human growth and development. When this is done it is seen that the adolescent reactions of tension, restlessness, irritability, form a picture easily reconciled to the mechanism which produces them. This is only the faintest outline of what actually occurs, the merest guiding strings towards the final realization of the problems of adaptation. The external evidences of changed conduct are merely the indication that something much deeper and more significant is happening and only suggest the constantly changing currents that represent the ebb and flow of occurring and recurring experiences.

Any group of average adolescents will show on the most superficial scrutiny the existence and the evidence of disturbances arising out of difficulties in relation to their surroundings. From these there develops a sense of personal consciousness and the introspective tendency which marks out that period from all the others. It is from the adolescent himself that these facts are learned and he is able to answer the demands for information about himself in regard to them. A study of the adolescent with reference to the environment in which he exists is the only method of investigation standing securely when other artificial types of investigation have proven unsuitable. The varying type of surroundings and the varying type of individual make little difference as far as the fact itself is concerned. There are always degrees of difference, but qualitatively they do not vary. The mental reactions that have already been noted may be so slight as almost to escape attention or may be so exaggerated that they dominate the picture. The pre-adolescent placidity is replaced by positive emotional and mental states that vary all the way from mild deviations to almost pathological degrees of violence. In all individuals some evidence of the change is found and there is no meaning possible other than an environment happening. There is nothing else to study except the individual and the things that surround him and out of these two elements the problem develops. The logical way to go about understanding any living being is first of all to study the environment in which he lives. After that the point of interest is the person. As a matter of fact the two things cannot be separated if any idea of the whole is desired. When it is seen that some degree of antagonism exists, and this situation is practically always present, the conflict is perceived. Add to this a trace even of conscious awareness and the first step towards an adolescent formula is stated. With this deduction a new orientation as to the meaning of adolescence is acquired.

Many aspects of this formula may be accepted and many situations come within the scope of inquiry. The revolt so characteristic of the period is simply the state of antagonism to the existence of a conflict and the state of mind that desires something different. The realization of this marks the fact that adolescence has set in no matter how early or late this may happen. The separation from childhood is thus clearly made. This period is synchronous in a general way with the beginning of maturity, while the accentuated growth, rhythm, and initiation into sexual potency are related phenomena which in some fashion or other play a part in the impulse or push which awakens the mental reactions so often pointed out. There is place in such an explanation for all the ordinarily stressed phenomena of sexual development even to the overemphasis of some of the later sexual psychologies. There is ground for believing that some of the reactions are variants of sexual impulses which are not given adequate channels for functional activity. The escape through conduct is denied and expression is inhibited by social custom and taboo. A good deal of this is probably unconscious and represents the vague strivings of the primitive instincts which are never entirely absent as maturity approaches.

Traces of early inhibitions and acquired repressions can be seen even if they are somewhat shadowy. The phenomena of sex repression may be thought of as a part of the influence exercised by the environment in the sense that the ideas and customs associated with sex arise out of environmental organization. The social implications of sex are a part of the environmental stream against which the adolescent is attempting to make his way. It is well to emphasize this aspect of the sex question rather than its direct causal importance in the evolution of the adolescent.

Conflict arising out of the surroundings is too secure a notion to be much influenced by what that environment consists of. In this sense the fact that in adolescence there are hidden away, and often obscurely, some of the earliest and the most primitive animal reactions should be kept in mind. Traces are evident of racial inheritances built up of instinctive impulses, echoes of periods and times in which the human being was more closely related to his animal ancestors than he is now. These general formulæ of conduct or behavior types at certain times and seasons resulting from physiological and anatomical advances towards maturity produce characteristic performance types which are the logical effects of the individual stage of development. As far as our information goes from the study of primitive cultures there is in all races some kind of ceremony attached to the period of sexual development. Recognition of this fact is evident. The capacity to reproduce was regarded apparently as of vital importance not only in the individual but as a tribal and social event of importance. The exercise of this function, sexual intercourse, was looked upon as a natural and normal sequence of potency. Inhibiting and controlling this function was something that probably never entered the minds of primitive people. The satisfying of so important an instinctive impulse was the logical effect of its presence. Whatever control and direction of the sexual instinct existed was based not upon its physiological presence, of and by itself, but upon various kinds of ceremonial taboos, etc. The notion that there is anything sinful about it or that sex and wrongdoing are synonymous are products of a much later cultural development. Patterns of action laid down in that far-off time have left traces which can be dimly ascertained now and it is from that oldest of all heritages that some of the adolescent difficulties in regard to sex date.

In the case of a socially untrammeled and uninhibited organism the inheritance pattern produces identical forms of conduct and it is likely that the nervous system acquires a set of pathways which facilitate under similar stresses identical kinds of reaction. There are no outside hindrances capable of influencing the sort of conduct which results.

Conduct of this sort follows sets of stimuli almost with the directness of reflexes and often with as little evidence of conscious direction or awareness. The nervous system itself by generations of pattern accommodation possesses pathways of action that are always unblocked for the type of reaction that stimuli of the sort demand. There is a body of fairly accredited observations and experiments which tend to support the theory that under identical stresses the same kind of conduct will result. If the stimulus or stress arises out of the physiological need of the organism many impulses, at least in the direction of the historical type of conduct, may result. In the very earlier stages of human evolution anatomical maturity of the sexual glands corresponds with the instinct towards their utilization. The mating instinct thus arose when the capacity to mate was acquired. The organism so conditioned would tend to act in accord with the impulses thus aroused. Associated with such impulses were various kinds of secondary activities that were logically necessary. It is not difficult to assume a group of conduct reactions that would seem logical. It strains no point to carry this analogy farther than observation justifies. There are of course no records by which the authenticity of these things can be judged. Searching, wandering, defense, attacking, concealment, and various mating maneuvers were very likely common and everyday adolescent performances. Such were necessary to carry out the impulses and instinctive demands of the mating urge. Just what happened and how are speculative. The shadowy outlines of conduct relating to that period and springing out of the necessities of that period are seen in many adolescents of this time and of this age. The nervous system accustomed for so many thousands of generations to translate into terms of action the impulses so generated has without doubt a set of favored pathways for their release. So much can be granted by almost any theory of inheritance. If so much is allowed then the outline so far presented can be extended to include the adolescents of the present age.

The difference between the adolescent of our times and that of the primitive races lies simply in the fact that then there was no obstacle to carrying out the impulses, but that now there is. Society has stepped in to prevent the type of conduct that arose from the physiological needs of the organism. The impulses and the striving to fulfill them remain practically unaltered. No realization of these things in terms of conduct can be either attained, accomplished, or even seriously thought of. No trace or at least no conscious trace of what these impulses may mean is perceived. There is no awareness of the fact of personal inheritance. The stimulus and emotion together with the thwarted purpose remain and these produce a sense of restriction, resistance, and incompetence. The feelings associated are released and there follow general, not specific, states of feelings, such as tension, perturbation, apprehension, and the feeling that things are different. These become externalized in motor reactions of various kinds, such as restlessness, motor anomalies of all sorts, states of immobility, and purposeless kinds of activity which suggest a hidden impulse to wander and to adventure.

It is, of course, not suggested that all kinds of adolescent conduct not clearly understood can be interpreted or traced to some primitively laid down impulse on an inherited basis. So direct an origin is not even hinted at, but a kind of trend or tendency is. It is something perhaps like the feeling of hunger and thirst which represent the needs of the organism and which if unsatisfied produce conduct which bears no direct relation to these needs at all. It is only by experience that the connecting link between conduct and need is understood and it is necessary in interpreting adolescent conduct to realize that there are links which do not appear on the surface and that until they are recognized no understanding is possible.

The term lack of satisfaction, or want of something that is desired, the nature of which is not understood, covers the general situation and is sufficiently vague to describe the general adolescent state,

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENVIRONMENT ANALYZED

IN the face of the complex situation presented by the adolescent, so far studied, something that might enlighten the problem is naturally sought for. A world of more tangible things than the world of the adolescent in himself would seem to furnish the desired information.

Looking away from the adolescent, towards his surroundings, to the place in which he lives, there is seen a complex structure in which there is an opportunity for a more objective examination which is without the continued presence of the intangible elements which before escaped positive and secure identification. Such a source of material is the environment. An environment is made up of places, things, people, and ideas. By ideas, which is the only one of these categories needing further elaboration, is meant the structure of thoughts, notions, deductions, conclusions, systems, and ways of looking at life, which are products of group thinking. They are the final crystallizations of generations of like groups who have by constant repetition rendered the transmission of fully condensed complexes of thoughts possible. It is environment in perhaps a narrower sense that for the adolescent establishes the social fabric which for him means the institutions in which he is compelled to work out his existence.

It is obvious that the most important sources of conflict arise from the environment and are the effects of the effort to fit into it. In seeking for sources of conflict the environment must be analyzed and such items in it as seem capable of influencing the adolescent should become subjected to as close a scrutiny as is consistent with the general purpose of this study. This should be done in as untechnical a fashion as possible to avoid touching too much upon sociological methods of inquiry. The purpose is simply to follow the traces of conflict as they appear in a study of the adolescent's environmental experiences. The outside or external world exists for every one as a complex thing made up of countless factors that, at first sight, seem to escape analysis and certainly appear too nebulous to be associated with the performances of the adolescent in many of his attempts at adjustment. On the other hand, there is an almost natural grouping of the environmental elements which make up the world of today, and many of these can be classed together so that they can be studied free from technical considerations. No theory in regard to the organization of society is implied in this simple procedure.

An attempt at grouping of social forces can be made which has for its purpose the clarification of the conflict, giving to it a sort of social solidity. There are various institutions outside of ourselves that exert constant pressure. They form the shell of the external world, that is, the world of organized social customs, traditions, institutions, and the like. They are the real tangible barriers of personally selective action. They in a very real sense are the dynamics lying behind the total system of what may be called social inhibitions. They tend to impose patterns of performance which in the long run have been found profitable to the race. As a matter of description they may be referred to as institutions and the names that will be given to them are meant to embrace as many of the important elements that make up our present civilization as are concerned with the position of the adolescent among them. Some of these are the state, education, religion, industry, etc.

If, for instance, the state is taken as an example, it is found that this means the organized group of laws, customs, and experiences associated with the symbol of government. It is the mass of socially integrated experiences through which living, in a social sense, is possible. The term would imply law, order, justice, nationality, local and place organizations, etc. The term is sufficiently elastic, as it is here used, to include almost any of the features of society at present that is capable of codification, whether written or merely a matter of usage. Education is another of the institutions that lends itself to analysis of the adolescent's adaptation to it. Education means in this connection the system of organized training to which almost every one must submit in order, theoretically at least, to make it possible to function properly as a social unit. Another, again, is religion. This institution implies the organization into some kind of system of the extra-material experiences of man in order to bring him into some sort of relation to theories of origin, existence, and future existence. It implies too the rules and regulations of conduct which will lead him to the rewards in an after life which most of the present-day religions promise.

There is something which may be called industry, which is an organized scheme to provide sustenance and physical protection to all the units that make up the state. The term "industry" implies also the use of the word "work" towards which practically all adolescents are being steadily pushed almost from the beginning of their lives. The family and the home must be included in the list because it is to them that the adolescent must first of all make his earliest adjustment. These are some of the important elements that form the environment of the adolescent to which may be added the matter of sex, which in its environmental significance must be given due consideration. This then is the outside world of the adolescent. Opposed to this and attempting to fit himself into it stands the adolescent; he is at the same time a part of it and in opposition to it. A study of these things and an insight into the reactions of its central figure should give some information as to the state of mind produced and the content of the mind of the adolescent as he is confronted on every side with the inelastic and individually unadaptable structure which is his immediate environment.

Home, family, industry, government, religion, and education are regarded as the significant items in the structure of the environment which forms the circle in the center of which the adolescent is to manage his existence. To some, or many, or all of these institutions he may be at any one time in conflict and his adjustment to their several or total demands spells the problem of his social existence. It is obvious that many such classifications can be made differing from this. It may be that this classification is artificial, carrying out rather a theory of adolescence than representing the reality of the situation. No more however is implied in this statement of the environment than to furnish an opportunity to come closer to the sources of the adolescent's difficulty in his effort to adjust himself.

Into whatever groups the environment is divided, a remarkable dovetailing is seen so that one item flows easily into another and into all the others as a matter of fact. There is no sharp limitation one from the other. Human institutions are like that. Their origins are obscure and their developments have not been continuous. The above classifications have been arrived at because each of them expresses to the adolescent an institution or the material replica of an institution. Their existence, as far as the adolescent is concerned, is something structural and material. The symbol of each of these things is a physical structure or group of structures which bear sometimes the name and at times the implication of the ideas which are represented. Institutions which are the organized structure of the ideas associated with social experiment, plus the material symbol of these things, are the features of the environment which to the adolescent represent his immediate world. There is no necessity perhaps to emphasize the fact that the adolescent is in any way aware of his surroundings in a classified sense nor does he ever see himself the center of this inelastic structure which, descriptively at least, fences him in. At any one moment of his life there is one or another of these things which immediately confront him. This represents, for the time being, his particular problem, if problem there is. In each or any of these things, however, there are times when some feature or features impinge upon the adolescent in a more than usually insistent manner and at such moments he feels the pressure of an external world which tends to halt, change, alter, or divert him from a natural or at any rate automatic piece of conduct. Normal and instinctive reactions are brought face to face with something that implies that such actions are not in accordance with rules and regulations. The specific antagonist to the carrying out of such apparently natural types of conduct is apt to be one of the institutional things which have been mentioned. Such a state of affairs naturally exists for all people in an organized world. The difference between the adult and the adolescent lies simply in the fact that to the former such a state of things has become habitual and customary. To the latter the consciousness that there are such things is comparatively new or at least the necessity for doing something about it is new. The adolescent is living in a world made up of socially rigid structures. He is for the first time in his life partially or completely aware of this fact. The conflict between these and himself is becoming known to him. In a few words, that represents the adolescent picture and the setting. From this arises his problem. His solution is guided by his personal reaction, and his attempts to fit himself into this are accompanied by many variations of conduct to which attention must be directed.

The environment in this tangible form is not difficult to appreciate, no matter how artificial the classification may be. Some sort of organized environment must be admitted no matter what theory in regard to human actions may be held.

There is, however, a phase of the environment which is not so definitely associated with environmental structures in the sense that has just been used and that is the organization of ideas as a part of the environment. Such concepts or collections of concepts are incapable of the same kind of classification as institutions. Some of these ideas are or seem to be detached from institutional connection. They belong neither exclusively to the state for example nor to religion nor to any one thing. They apparently have sprung out of the need for some sort of organization which has the capacity not only to exist at any one time but to be transmitted from generation to generation almost unchanged no matter what need for alteration there may be. These are traditional ways of looking at things, conventional methods of taking care of situations, inhibitory maneuvers of all sorts. The things that belong to this category may best be described, perhaps, as the condensed experience of humanity in the handling of difficult, unpleasant, and disagreeable experiences, and many of its manifestations are instinctive in origin.

No better example of such a complex of ideas can be thought of than that relating to sex. It is apropos, at this point, because adolescence is so often associated with the ideas of a conflict on this account. It should clarify this aspect of the environmental difficulty of the adolescent if the question of sex be thought of as an environmental structure of ideas.

If the ideas relating to sex are submitted to analysis, it is seen that certain theories that have arisen out of the problem cannot be kept out. It is almost impossible to consider ideas as an environmental phenemonon apart from attempts to explain them or to free them from interpretations. Ideas are not things but responses of the mind to the presence of things. For this reason in the following exposition on sex as an environmental factor of some importance it will be necessary to consider, among other things, a theory of sex which is concerned with the idea that it is the most important of the dynamics of adolescence.

One of the most significant of the conflict mechanisms arises out of the *impasse* created by the sexual strivings caused through the anatomical and functional maturing of the sex glands and the inhibitions and perverse attitudes taken by the environment as a whole. This results from the piling up of a series of rigid taboos and traditions that become formulated in a system of handling the sex question as it confronts the growing child. The origin of this curious taboo is not important here, but its existence is. Direct and logical activities as an outlet of sex strivings cannot, of course, be furnished to the adolescent in the present stage of civilization. There is not only no logical outlet but frequently no outlet at all. This causes that feeling of deprivation and that lack which in a wider sense accounts for some of the anomalies of conduct which appear on the surface so puzzling. Added to that there is also ignorance and lack of information of the very things that it is important for the adolescent to know. The environment according to custom maintains a rigid silence on the very point about which the adolescent is eager for information.

It is easy enough to interpret the whole of the adolescent problem as arising out of the sex conflict alone. Many such attempts have been made. These are almost universally based upon the assumption that the establishment of the sexual function without the possibility of sexual satisfaction creates so serious a conflict that nothing that the adolescent may do offers any avenue of escape. The emotional instability that is said to result and mental perturbation that is the consequence are the proofs and establish the foundation for this explanation. This appears superficially logical enough until the fact is faced that the whole of adolescence may be passed without a trace of a conflict of this sort. Puberty and adolescence have been confused and the relation of function to anatomically matured organs has been pressed beyond fact and experience. In support of the predominance of sexual conflicts in the adolescent period the results of many studies carried out according to the psychoanalytic procedure are emphasized. There has been obtained such a wealth of sexually tinged experiences that there seems no escape from the conclusion that sex and nothing but sex lies at the bottom of the whole of adolescence. The criticism of this method of investigation lies in the fact that in the first place it is not well adapted to the study of the adolescent and in the second place the analyst comes to his problem with his mind made up that the only explanation that satisfies the essentials of the problem is that of sex. Other methods of study or the same technique pursued by others than those imbued with the Freudian formula find other conflicts than that of sex. Such conflicts are the same as those found in other stages of man's development and have relation to the particular environmental characteristics that offer so many different elements that no one type can be said to predominate.

It is much nearer the truth to give the importance of sex its due weight than to fit in every phase of the adolescent reaction into a sexually tinged framework. A common denominator called sex as a key to every variation in conduct and as an explanation for every kind of deviation is much too simple a thing. What becomes of the many conflicts that bear no relation to sex at all and to which the adolescent reacts with as much emotional display as to those that are manifestly sex? Surely the effect on the adolescent is the important thing and not the necessity of proving a previously thought-out theory. The attractiveness of the idea of a sex-infiltrated adolescence lies in the easy assumption that that is a universal explanation of the totality of the observed phenomena. Where the actual facts are not found, then symbolic interpretation is resorted to and the simplest item in the adolescent conflict is interpreted from the point of view of sex. It is much more instructive to study the conflict and other processes of the adolescent from observations made on himself and to attempt to understand what may be understood than to attempt to fit it into a preconceived system whether of sex or anything else.

Concerned as this discussion so far has been with the ideas associated with sex in relation to the conflict processes, there remains the question as to other sources of conflict than the inhibited functions of the maturing sex glands. Any consideration of the mechanism of conflict must take into consideration the important characteristics of the environment as it reacts upon the personality and intelligence of the adolescent. Such an inquiry should embrace certain outstanding features of the present social structure. The adolescent no less than ourselves is caught in the meshwork of a world of actual things and happenings. A scrutiny of these things will furnish an important source of information about ourselves from the point of view of the reactions that are produced. If it is possible to study the main elements of the social structure which surrounds the adolescent some insight into his reactions will be obtained. This amounts to studying the adolescent from the point of view of his environmental position.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATE AND THE FAMILY

SOME word is now required about the method used in obtaining the data through which the adolescent has been studied. There is no formulated body of observation that throws much light. Laboratory tests, for instance, are for the most part sterile and seem to be devoid of practical value. Questionnaires without number have been painfully filed and tabulated; test results have been graphically arranged or put into columns. The results, however, are very meager and give but a shadowy outline—the adolescent stands outside all the artificial devices which are meant to define him. He either cannot or will not expose the innermost workings of his soul to any kind of arbitrary scheme which is designed to entrap his personality or to outline his figure from a social angle. All that seems possible is to make some attempt to analyze, in relation to environment, the determining factors derived from the personal study of numerous adolescents—some of whom are normal, others abnormal, and others who stand on the border line. Even if this is successfully done, however, it should not be forgotten that the information so derived must be divorced from the personal equation of the one who does the investigating.

Here the adolescent has been studied by the method of simple question and answer. In this method there can be no trick, no complicated technique, and no attempt to delve into hidden recesses of consciousness through devices which are artificially planned to release repression; nor can there be any other maneuver that depends upon the necessity of obscuring the realities that lie beneath. The analytical technique developed in this form of inquiry is one that slowly forms itself as a result of many kinds and varieties of impressions. There results, after a while, a form of personality analysis which is largely the personal possession of the inquirer and differs in each investigator. The investigator learns this from a study of many different groups in some of which the abnormal types predominate, in others the border-line types, and in others again the more typical and normal. A kind of composite picture of the adolescent is thus formed, in which many individuals have been immersed.

Beside this personal observation and analysis, the investigator may draw on three other sources of information. One is his own adolescent experience about which usually something is remembered. Another derives from the work of others who have perhaps used methods and devices essentially different from his. Finally there is that body of information which has come from the untechnical investigator—the writer, philosopher, or artist, all of whom have followed the adolescent through the ages as an illusive, fascinating, and romantic figure.

The environment which has yet to be analyzed has been sketched out in a previous chapter and the fact has been stated that the divisions into which the environment has been cast have been made solely to facilitate study, and that another grouping may be as effective and as true. Since the relative importance of one over the other is a matter of individual selection, the one that is apparently stressed is done so, not because there is anything inherent in it, but simply because it happens to meet the special point of view of the writer.

Inasmuch as environment is largely incapable of change, that is, in any fundamental fashion, because social institutions are stable, the effort to alter must be directed towards the individuals who make up the environment and not to institutions as such. The individuals forming the environment are therefore to be regarded as the fluid element capable of some kind of modifications. The immediate personal surroundings of the adolescent, the family and home, are hopeful material for adaptation. Naturally the adolescent himself must be included and with the shifting relationship between him and those about him a certain degree of success may be hoped for if the mutual relationship between the two is understood. To simply catalogue the environmental facts as realistic things which bear a relation to the adolescent in the sense of position or propinquity does not illuminate the situation. In addition to the simple task of cataloguing there must be some effort to interpret the environmental elements in relation to the adolescent. It is necessary to avoid the rigid outline which is frequently found in descriptions of the adolescent on the subject of his relation to other people and things. It should be constantly kept in mind that both the environment and the adolescent are living organisms. There is vitality in both and there is a living element in all their contacts. While a picture can be sketched of the adolescent as he stands in the circle of his environment, such a sketch is lacking in truth if the shifting quality of living things is omitted.

It is comforting to realize that any problem partially understood is therefore partly solved. The impetus to correct interpretation comes largely from a desire to aid the adolescent. With this idea in mind the dangers of rigid classifications and inelastic interpretations may be avoided.

If the institution called the state is examined from the point of view of the definition and limitations that have been discussed, it will be seen that it scarcely touches or registers itself concretely. Laws, aspects of justice, the organization of governmental devices of all kinds are for him personally nonexistent. As he emerges from childhood he comes more or less in touch with this outside structure, but only in an indefinite fashion. He early recognizes the existence of law as something that carries with it punishment, in case of acts contrary to established usage. In many ways these laws are a kind of extension to his small world of daily inhibitions. He has been taught, as a rule without explanation, that certain things are wrong and that they are wrong because if they are done disagreeable consequences inevitably follow. No theoretical conception in regard to the common good and no notion of the theory of justice is given to him. He has some kind of crude notion of such things as government, police, crime, punishment, courts, and things of that sort. To him the laws of the outside world are extensions of the organized authority of his own home and very often have just as little reason for existence. He is unaware of the existence of a series of social experiences coming down the ages which have marked mankind's effort to socialize itself.

It is difficult to keep from generalizing because there are so many ways of interrelating the home. The average American home as a rule reflects an attitude toward the state which may be described as one of respect, pride, and conformity to its demands. This notion of the state has come about because there is a confused idea that the state exists chiefly as a sort of protection for the average citizen which in turn demands from him no more than a negative obedience to its laws. The state is conceived to be a matter of laws rather than the concrete expression of man's struggle for social survival. That the state needs a more positive attitude than that of mere obedience seldom suggests itself to the average citizen. The child of the average citizen obtains his conception of the state from the environment in which he happens to be and so he too regards the state from that purely personal point of advantage. It is rather what it can do for him than what he may do for it. The state is associated in the mind of the child with attributes that apply to a successful working of a primitive and naïve larger parent. Pride, obedience, and a sense of superiority over all other states replaces any broader and more philosophical point of view. The state appears to the child as a kind of inelastic series of artificial structures only vaguely connected with any real responsibilities on his part, rather as a sort of protective scheme shielding him from various kinds of violent conduct, such as theft, murder, assault, etc. In addition to the idea of the state as a body of laws he has obtained, often through ignorant and prejudiced sources, a generalized conception of loyalty and a general idea of national and racial superiority. His country is regarded as being always in the right and its heroes stand out as irreproachable and dominant figures who exist chiefly for the glorification of his native land. Conformity to the traditions, customs, and ideas of this native land are taken as a matter of fact and all other ideas are thought of as wrong.

The state is for him his country as a whole, rather than something local and near at hand of which he might become an integral and interested figure. In other words, citizenship as a thing of burden and responsibility is overshadowed by the larger conception of a country which in peace or war reflects glory on him because he happens to live in that particular place. Of course the fault lies here in the educational policy pursued in the teaching of history, a policy that aims to produce loyalty as a virtue in itself instead of a loyal adherence to things that are shown to be worth while.

Thus very early in the adolescent's life there develops a conception of the state which tends to surround him with a rigid and inelastic lot of ideas about its superiority to any other kind of state that at present exists. This brings with it a certain attitude of pride which is not, however, based upon any knowledge of how this state of affairs came about.

To the adult, on the other hand, the state in its broader meaning has become one of the most important items in his environment, because he is forced by it to conform to established lines of procedure irrespective of will, desire, or choice. The adult is constantly aware of the existence of something, not very tangible, but nevertheless rigid, which exercises a constant inhibitory influence upon his action and occasionally upon his opinion. In how many instances does the adult in the choice of conduct which may bring him into conflict with the state reach any idea of its philosophical place in his life? The answer to this may define how far away the conception of the state must be to the adolescent in whose life it scarcely manifests itself, except in an obscure and intangible form. In the case of the adult it is rather the influence of the function of the state as it affects his conduct either advantageously or the reverse which is the determining thing in whatever choice he may make, rather than any conception of right or wrong in a given instance. There is a mass of things that he ought not to do simply because the result will be disastrous and without profit or advantage. This runs through all sorts of experiences which bring him into relation with existing customs, laws, and traditions. In the long run these define for him the state as it really exists. Some of the demands made upon the adult are acceded to without question or criticism, others produce irritation, objection, and revolt. Abstract justice seldom enters into the question, but the items of comfort or discomfort, advantage or disadvantage, do. Obedience, disobedience, and compromise may be said to represent the adult formula in reference to the state. The compromise is especially the favorite device.

By far more important, however, to the adult is that aspect of the state which is concerned with its practical functioning and which he knows as politics. This very general term means the state in terms of actual and everyday activity. The political phase of this question is stressed because it colors most of the reactions of the adolescent in his attitude and it furnishes him with the most definite conception of the state that he possesses.

The adolescent's attitude toward the state can only be understood by appreciating how the more mature personalities in his surroundings react to and regard the same thing. For in this respect the adolescent is colored by the opinions of those about him. The political affiliations of the environment arising in a confused atmosphere of political controversy, furnish for him the only material out of which a conception of the state may be formed. It is doubtful whether the whole affair is of any real import to him. It is unlikely that he is brought into any immediate conflict with it or that it occasions any more than a mild sort of curiosity. His own attitude is much the same as that of his adult surroundings, except that he does not show the same kind of personal concern and it does not make up a definite or tangible element in his life. It is important for him, however, because it establishes in a general way a line of action to many other environmental elements of greater importance. In many studies of the adolescent very little information has come relating to the subject of the state in this sense. The great majority of replies point to the idea that the state is a kind of indifferent game in which the adolescent himself has little at stake and does not care to play. Added to this often is a mild skepticism as to the real seriousness of his adult environment in the matter.

As background for further consideration of the family and home the general conception of the state as the adolescent sees it is of value. When the family and home are considered, a much more important phase of the environment is reached, perhaps as important as any source of conflict. In many ways the family and home may be regarded as a part of the state. They are the evidence that the state in its most important function has entered into the daily existence of the child and that it is exercising there its purpose of controlling natural tendencies and normal impulses. Here again the family and home are not to be considered as some concrete thing, but something made up of personalities grouped together by ties of relationship and customary intercourse. This creates a structure which the life of the adolescent touches and penetrates. The force of this contact strikes from all sides and all angles. It is through this contact that he is dimly or else definitely aware of the existence, outside of himself and apart from himself, of something which exercises an influence upon everything that he does and upon almost all of his thoughts.

The family is the most important fact of his environment. It is often somewhat unpleasant because it is more negative than positive, forcing him not to do rather than to do. It tells him that he is wrong rather than right, fails in comprehension rather than understands him.

It is curious that in the family as well as the state there is often a tendency to depart from individualization—the state always as a matter of necessity and the family often as a matter of choice. It is a commonplace that institutions that make up a complex dominant organization assume the characteristic qualities of the whole. Inelasticity is the prevailing quality of a family as it is the essential quality of the state.

It must be kept in mind that the idea of family is not limited to the immediate members of the household but embraces that so-called organization which approaches more nearly the conception of a group or clan. The family in this sense means rather a local grouping of people with whom the family as a whole has immediate or repeated contact. The family in this sense manages to attach itself to like-minded and like-intentioned groups. In this way a crystallized set of views, opinions, and customs is found which seems to be almost a perpetual possession. Social levels are almost automatically created, and business, religion, and other kinds of common relationship cause similar groups to band together and to stand apart in antagonism to other groups not like-minded. Of course there is no real display of enmity and no actual antagonistic manifestation, but there is an undercurrent of criticism, to put it mildly, that produces an influence upon the adolescent. Antagonist groups in this sense are important elements in the adolescent conflict. The relation of all this to the adolescent lies chiefly in the fact that he takes as his immediate heritage the ideas, ideals, customs, and habits of his family group. His later developing conflict arises out of the sense of antagonism to it. Differences at this age cannot exist without some degree of opposition. This is often felt when the matter of its existence is difficult to prove. If the adolescent is looked at in this way he can be seen as a developing personality possessing a vast assortment of partially formed conceptions about all manner of things. The family, the school, and the various outside sources of his information furnish him with the material of his beliefs, his prejudices, and all the mass of misinformation which is the common heritage of our present civilization. As the greater mass of this stuff comes directly from sources close to the family it is to that institution that the adolescent naturally directs his first hesitating steps of doubt and criticism.

To understand his early questioning attitude instead of a blindly believing attitude is to understand the adolescent on the threshold of his attempt to establish the material of his beliefs and convictions on a basis that is essentially his own. In the nature of things a clash must take place sooner or later, because the family as a whole is nonprogressive and relatively unchangeable while the personality of the adolescent becomes a matter of growth, change, and constant development. The family stands as a sort of crystallized institution, while the adolescent, although part of it and linked to it, has a sense of restlessness, an urge for growth, and an insistent desire for change. The family, owing to its bulk, stable organization, and unvarying attitude, tends to lag behind. The two are in their very nature incompatible and even though the adolescent is a product of this incompatibility there appears at times to him no necessary relationship with it at all. The family exists almost as a far-away symbol rather than as a collection of persons endowed as he himself is with convictions, experiences, and other elements that go to form a personality. The members of the group are cemented together by the common ties of opposition, as he sees it, and there is apparent the slight beginning of a sense of superiority arising out of the feeling of opposition on his part which is slowly developing. To the adolescent this sense of superiority is a new and wonderful thing and is a direct result of his changing views in respect to his immediate environment. It intrigues him the more perhaps because no outward manifestation of it is allowed and thus he is apt to exaggerate slight differences and to attach to them unwarranted degrees of importance. Family customs, traditions, and conventions are as definitely codified as is the written system of laws and regulations which the state finds so necessary to substitute for something more elastic. The family is a sort of outpost to the adolescent, a forward station, suggesting in a sort of miniature fashion the huge organization which is back of it and of which it is a part. It is through the family that the adolescent sees the state and it is from the family that he vaguely interprets it. They are almost identical and his first experience in control, in the forces of tyrannical conduct, injustice, and punishment is through the power of the family, so that when he meets with the same or similar things in the larger mechanism outside, he is familiar with it and he often reacts to it or would like to react in the same fashion. It is through the family that the adolescent becomes finally aware of the existence of a kind of rigid, ironclad system which touches him chiefly in the form of negations, forcing him to substitute controlled, deviated conduct for free actions.

The adolescent's natural formula is the substitution of a question in place of blind obedience. This is the characteristic difference between the adolescent and the child. The state and the family, and it is worth while to think of them together, are obstacles to the free play of this important change which is in the process of developing.

The predominance, however, of the spirit of inquiry over that of acceptance is the outstanding feature. Exceptions to the general rule must always be admitted.

It is well to emphasize the point here that in the present stage of the discussion no question is raised as to the desirability of this particular tendency. Whether the adolescent would be in a better position if things were changed or if the family control in such matters were altered is a matter of great doubt. It is rather a matter of interest in the present stage of discussion to find out what the state of affairs is. After that the discussion of the relative advantage or the reverse is pertinent. Habituation automatically takes the place of individualizing a reaction and the state of awareness is not by any means as constant as might be supposed from the statement made above. It is stressed now because it accentuates an item in the mechanism of revolt that is of importance, especially so because it is a vital matter to appreciate the difference between the adolescent and the state of mind in an earlier stage. There is an essential difference between an act of mere disobedience and the adolescent's apparent refusal to conform. A realization of the existence of external organized authority is implied and it is the right of interpreting this which marks the difference between the adolescent and the child. It is not any more the "I won't," but the "I won't" with a reservation. This question directs itself also to the authority of the outside world, represented in this case by the family. Perhaps it is a sort of purposive question implying a consideration of the whole phenomenon of obedience as a part of customary demands of the environment upon the adolescent himself. The reaction of the adolescent to the family and its broader representation in the state produces a conflict in which for his own protection he is forced to assume a position which may be described as temporary superiority. Revolt almost always implies a notion of superiority. The adolescent, unfortunately for him, is not prepared to assume such a condition. It is forced upon him as a consequence of a static environment impinging upon a developing living mechanism. He has, of course, no measure of values and no tests to apply to them. To him they are significant chiefly because they are different and no doubt too because the mention of grounds for his opposition is apt to arouse angry denunciations in no way proportionate to their value or significance. He is apt to regard as novel and unique things that are as ancient as human custom. To him there is a freshness in an ever-changing point of view which springs from the fact that it is different. It is chiefly this difference that causes the adolescent to view it with pleasure. This same thing has been spoken of again and again in literature, especially in the nontechnical and nonscientific literature. It has become a sort of standardized opinion of adolescence and therefore of all adolescents to stress the awakening of interest in new things and the evident sense of superiority which this causes.

The popular conception is that which has been described as conceit and this overemphasis of self stands out as the predominating element. The psychological importance of this reaction is naturally not understood. No matter what name is applied, the beginnings of the realization of self and the essential necessity to protect that self from the destructive activities of the environment is a vital thing. In other words it is the acquisitive trends in personality make-up directed towards winning something tangible and holding to that tangible thing which in the last analysis must be interpreted as one's self. It is not at all strange that this tendency should begin to manifest itself at this time because there are many other impulses straining for change and looking for a broader field for experiment. That some of this has a relation to the actual phenomenon of growth already touched upon is without doubt true, and that it is a kind of sidetracking of some of these unrealizable impulses into activities of intelligence in place of directly logical kinds of conduct is likewise true. The forces that are let loose through the vital impulses of growth, among them those of sex, have to find a way out and the urge to fulfillment must in some way be met. It is important to understand that these impulses are vague, are not determined in any specific manner, and have no predetermined goal. That they are not usually recognized by the adolescent as anything other than states of impending activities suggests how indefinite and illusive they are. The force behind them must be expended in some way and there is no immediate focus for their activities other than the immediate environment and that comes to mean the family. The conflict is thus established upon grounds that bear no direct evidences of reasonableness and certainly no selection. The family is there as a sort of rigid and unyielding obstacle and as it happens to be the handiest structure of opposition it becomes the objective for attack. This statement may appear to be more warlike than the nature of things justifies, but the fact is more important than any statement about it, and all that is meant is that figuratively the adolescent expresses himself at this stage in the only way he can, that is, in opposition to the things about him which in this instance can be generalized by the word family.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

AS the inquiry into the environment proceeds the difficulty in differentiating sharply the influences arising out of one group from those of another becomes apparent. The groups constantly tend to run into one another.

Education as an important and vital factor in environment is now to be considered. Its definition can be made so broad that it includes the whole of life or so narrow again that only school experiences need be discussed. A definition of education that would serve the purpose of this analysis should have something of a universal meaning rather than anything as definite as an institution vouched for by the state and insisted upon by law. School and education are quite different things and as the experience with mass education increases the difference becomes more exact.

To the adolescent, however, school stands out as the great source of education and, as far as he is concerned, education and school are essentially the same things.

Education may be thought of in one way as the mechanism which transmits the heritage of knowledge acquired by mankind to the developing individual so that he is able to pass through the stages of acquisition without the laborious effort represented by the struggle in which generations of his forebears were forced to engage.

It is also true that the school as an institution is to the adolescent one of the most pertinent factors of life and represents a part of his environment which is very close to him and which is a matter of daily experience. School is represented by two different sets of elements. One is the teachers and the things they are supposed to do, all of which seems to the adolescent rather vague and on the whole without great interest. The other is the school as represented by the people who go there and who make up its communal life. This second, which interests the adolescent much more and receives greater consideration from him, can be simplified further by the class in which he happens to be and the group to which he happens to belong. How far these various elements of his school life separate themselves into elements that he can scrutinize is questionable. It is, perhaps, safe to say that the average adolescent usually does not interest himself in such questions at all, but looks at the school as a whole, as something that exists and of which he is an integral part.

The adolescent is not concerned at all with theories or purposes and seldom questions in any serious way the necessity of going to school. It is as normal a part of his life as eating or sleeping and implies a kind of authority which often is more compelling than that of his immediate family. The easiest way, perhaps, to get the point of view of the adolescent is to regard the school as a kind of extension of his home or family life, less tangible and less personalized, an institution, and for that reason furnishing a much less favorable opportunity for the critical attitude which at this time begins to manifest itself at home and in relation to the family and its component parts. There are many infractions of home discipline which he would on occasion indulge in freely; but there are comparatively few of the customs of the school that he would knowingly oppose. At school he is brought up sharply against mass tradition and he is likely to submit to this mass tradition more respectfully than to the traditions of the handful of people whom he knows intimately. Authority takes on an entirely impersonal color and transmits its commands from some distant source not at all known or capable of being understood.

To think of the school only as an educational opportunity is to fail to sense the situation as it appears to the adolescent and as he reacts to it. The adolescent heroes and heroines pictured in much of the recent literature present exceptional types endowed with an unusual appreciation of the beautiful in life and art. But here the average adolescent is being considered. To most adolescents the school is not an opportunity; but an institution which demands from them certain specific tasks and in which they usually find it easy to conform to a tradition of conduct and feeling that grips them with a more tenacious grasp than their own immediate family or home succeed in doing.

There is one thing that school gives the adolescent—and this refers to the worst kind of school as well as the best—a certain increase in intellectual ability. This does not refer to any particular function of the mind, but covers a very general state of things. How much this may be due to the natural development of intelligence associated with normal growth and how much to the practice obtained from doing systematically tasks of one kind or another, it is difficult to say because the majority of adolescents are at the same time school children. At any rate, the adolescent's power of using his mind increases. He observes more, is more cognizant of the things that happen about him, more receptive to opinions, and he is, at the same time, gathering a mass of information derived from many sources, often through personal contacts of various kinds in the school. A great deal of this information may be wrong and a great many of the opinions thus obtained may be shallow, prejudiced, narrow, and uninformed. The point is, however, that this becomes the stock in trade for his mental exercises and it is his, no matter from what absurd sources it is derived.

It is this material with which he must confront the home and family in the various conflicts that so often take place. Often these things are stamped with the seal of the outside world and, perhaps for that reason alone, seem to the adolescent to be of much greater importance than his previous conceptions which had been founded mostly on family contacts. The swing from the home to the school in matters of final judgment often brings the conflict to an acute point and results in a tendency to suppress those things that seem to cause dissension at home. Just what attitude is adopted depends so much upon personal characteristics that the question can not be taken up here; but what does matter is the presence of a divided authority which is apt to confuse the adolescent to a degree and the family a great deal more. Usually a point is reached sooner or later, when the question of allegiance is brought to the fore and the adolescent decides, in some manner, just where the weight of his belief and the direction of his loyalty will lead. Sometimes there arises out of this conflict such a state of indecision that neither the school nor the family wins out. The adolescent is then apt to cast about for a further source of guidance and this he may find in religion, a subject which will be taken up in a later chapter.

A still more important phase of school life is now to be considered. It is at school that the adolescent first begins to compare himself as an individual with others of his kind. This natural tendency to comparison is further stimulated by the adolescent's newly awakened interest in examining himself as a personal unit. It has been pointed out before that introspection is one of the most important traits of the adolescent period. This question of comparison has no reference to the relatively unimportant question of rivalry, either in studies, social experience, or in games. Jealousy, pride, and envy are traits too general and too often stimulated at all ages to stress here as more than the normal reaction of any one brought into circumstances at all competitive. The whole activity is perfectly conscious and its very awareness deprives it of any important place in an attempt to analyze the adolescent from the point of view of conflict. An unsuccessful attempt to gain a reward, for instance, either in scholarship or in athletics causes disappointment, but there is an established code which takes care of this in all but exceptional instances and all but exceptional children.

There is no code, however, and there never can be one, that will take care of the internal struggle that occurs when an individual has occasion to face himself and to weigh and measure himself with what experience he has had with other like or unlike individuals. There comes to the adolescent, at this time, a realization of being one among the multitude. Removed from the immediate protection of home and family by the fact of an increasing outside contact, as exemplified by the school, and the ever-increasing social broadening that usually follows, the adolescent begins to feel, vaguely it is true, but nevertheless certainly, a quickened sense of environmental pressure, and in so doing he is forced to consider himself in relation to it. The chances are, of course, that the adolescent does not realize the situation in terms of actual thought; he has, perhaps, no more than a sense of a far-away impending something. This far-away thing is very likely an image of the environmental conflict that confronts him and it becomes more and more apparent as the social horizon tends to broaden.

There is a natural by-product of this tendency to self-measurement and comparison, seen in many adolescents, and that is the developing of a concept that he is inferior and inadequate. This is the well-known inferiority complex of many popular writers on child psychology and is often the determining factor that influences parents to seek medical advice. The parents very frequently are aware of the fact that their child is showing the effect of his sense of inadequacy. In many instances immediate causes or supposed causes are brought out as sufficient explanation, but the basis of this reaction is due to a much deeper problem than that of immediate happenings. It goes back to the great primitive feeling of one against the many. That immediate happenings have some effect, however, in producing such a state of mind is not to be questioned. Often they are a stimulus to the massed-up effect of this impulse to regard self in opposition to an environmental struggle appearing just above the horizon. This feeling of inferiority is not necessarily due to any real conviction of personal insufficiency, but rather to a sense of the unfairness and injustice of the environmental circumstances which are directed against what might be called the contender. Some of the adolescent's moodiness, silences, and general distaste for most conventions also have their origin in his resentment against this injustice.

What relation the school and what it is teaching the adolescent may have to his self-criticism and to so complicated a phenomenon as his realization of himself in the presence of a hostile environment, is difficult to say. His introduction to literature, history, and science teach him, on the contrary, to magnify man. Does the inadequacy idea reach over and beyond his school to the ancient fear incident to man's primitive struggle against the antagonistic forces of nature? If that is the case, this simple inherited impulse to fear must have become more complex by reason of the individual's own experiences, among which is that of the school. The school can only be considered, again, as an environmental factor —the adolescent's first step into the outside world beyond the shelter of his family. His measuring and subsequent minimizing of self he learns from his contact with people and not from what he is taught in the classroom except that it may be his studies which first start him thinking at all.

The struggle of self with environment brings about some sort of mental mechanics of defense. The adolescent engaged in his attempt to compromise gives one impression, oftentimes, to those about him and quite a different one to himself. He may, for instance, conceal his feeling of inadequacy by a pronounced effort to assert himself in the eyes of his antagonists. This tendency to subterfuge further intensifies the conflict process and causes a growth of the introspective ability which from feeble beginnings now becomes a settled and permanent mechanism. It would be of great benefit in the present discussion if it were possible to associate, more directly and minutely, the school in its purely intellectual expression with the mental phenomena which are taking place in the mind of the adolescent under the stress of his conflict.

Education in its broader sense has been given a secondary place in the consideration, so far, while the social institution of the school has been emphasized. Education has been interpreted from the point of view of environmental and conflict characteristics; but there is, of course, another important side to education and that is its effect, in the broader sense, upon the mind, spirit, and emotions of the child. Something must be said of the stimulus to the imaginative life which contact with the intellectual heritage of mankind produces and which any educational process, no matter how defective, must arouse to some degree. The human mind adapts itself to a bad method of training as well as to a good one.

The elements that make up the mind of the adolescent are capable at this time of some sort of analysis. One of the most important of the by-products of an extensive acquisition of new knowledge—that is, new from the recipient's point of view—is the isolation of the individual. The reason for this is clear. As soon as a person takes from the common heritage something that he comes to consider as his own, whether it is in the form of something material or not—at that moment he dissociates himself from the mass of other people by virtue of the mere act of possession itself. This isolation is associated with an increase in that curious element of consciousness described as the sense of personal identification. Personality is made up of many qualities, some of which are purely physical, others are varieties of reactions of many sorts, and still others are accumulations derived from ideas or fancied experiences. To these must be added a digest of the part of the intellectual heritage of the human race which is appropriated by each one in his own individual fashion. All of this and a great deal more is infiltrated by the flavor of personality and becomes different from all other things possessed by others through the fact of ownership. It is of little importance that this knowledge is shared by countless others or that it is repeated from one generation to the next and that it can be found in countless individuals of the same generation. The fact that it is owned, so to speak, gives the unique flavor that differentiates it once and for all from anything else.

In the study of adolescence, this fact is of primary importance because it serves to separate one adolescent from another. It is not possible to prophesy how one will react and how another may not, or what curious channels in the activity of consciousness may be set flowing in one instance and what devious directions the current may run in another. The impact of the world's experience with life as it directs itself towards the personality of the adolescent is one of the vital problems of this whole question and if there were any organized data that would throw light on this question, much of the planning of educational method would receive a new and valuable corrective. That there is no such material makes it necessary to speculate along the lines of what knowledge there is.

It is essential to keep in mind that the adolescent comes to the stage in his education which is at present being considered with a mind already somewhat formed. From various sources he has a mass of fairly well-organized knowledge derived in the manner we have described. Much of this is loosely put together, much of it is one-sided, some of it is absolutely wrong, and little of it has any wider implication than merely a collection of facts in which belief takes the place of reason. The primary-school system has seen to it that little elasticity has been mixed up with the acquisition of this crudely organized stuff and the tincture of authority is always there. Imagination, criticism, insight, skepticism, unbelief, phantasy, and all the other attributes of an actively working mind have been pretty well buried under the accumulated load of factual information that has been handed out and taken, as that sort of thing is always likely to be, as something acquired without gratitude or understanding.

Burdened with this rigid and partially crystallized mass of educational pabulum, the mind of the adolescent must accommodate itself to an increasing amount of the same thing. The difference, however, is that now there is added, by slow degrees in most instances, the beginnings of doubt, the traces of skepticism, and the sense of a growing superiority over the self that was previously concerned in such matters. There is also the possessive instinct which makes all of this lie, not on the outside, but on the inside as part of the self. And in and out play imagination, phantasy, feeling, emotions of delight, poetic reactions to beauty, a sense of rhythm in words, a conception of ideas larger than self, heroic reactions to historic figures, a sense of romance, and perhaps more important than any of these, the personalization in the structure of one's self of the favorite figures in history and fiction. Ideals and ideas of conduct are created for the adolescent that are more gripping than before because they are not vague or generalized notions of good based on the examples which parents or teachers have emphasized, but something new constructed with the awareness of self in the foreground.

Often the adolescent's idealism can be followed into daydreams which are the extension in distinctly personal ambitions and wishes lying buried in a stratum of consciousness. This daydreaming is a renewal of the same kind of activity observed in all children of a much less mature stage in development; but there is this marked difference—the adolescent has put into his dreams the impress of self and the utilization of a selective action according to the system inherent in his make-up and in relation to a kind of conscious choice. The inhibitions that have been slowly growing and making themselves felt in various ways, now automatically assert themselves and exercise the rôle of censor, selecting that which is desirable from that which is not and closing the door to that which is not in accordance with the romantic impulse that has been stimulated. Into this half-real world there is found a place, often a big place, for the insertion of the figures of everyday life, the outlines of companions, friends, and the choicer personalities of school and home.

It is easily seen that only the merest outline is possible in attempting to sketch the important fact of education in the life of the adolescent and that the most significant element is the establishment of the material of conflict which so naturally comes out of the experience. Not much has been said of mental training, discipline, and the mere acquisition of the material facts that necessarily come about, because that, after all, is a matter that is taken for granted. Education has meant, for the purpose of this discussion, the acquisition of the material out of which conflict processes normally and naturally arise.

This material has become a part of the adolescent process of growth and so personalized and so much his possession that there has been added something to it that it did not possess, making it unique and separate from anything that has gone before.

CHAPTER XI

WORK

IN considering industry or work in relation to the adolescent it is necessary to keep two groups in mind. One is composed of the adolescents who are at school during the greater part of their adolescence. This is relatively a small group. The other, by far the larger, is composed of those who pass the greater part or the whole of their adolescence in industry at work and living in the atmosphere of adult strivings. To the adolescent in school, industry is a fact which is present tangibly in the persons of his adult environment but in which he is not an active participant. In the case of the adolescent at work, industry is the most positive and vital fact in his life as well as in his environment. In analyzing the influence of industry, in this sense, it should be kept in mind that it is an external mechanism of great significance to the adolescent. It is the interplay of this mechanism and the adolescent in process of growth that forms the subject of this analysis. Industry as a contribution to the advance in civilization, its economic and sociological importance, and other like questions do not enter.

In the life of the adult, industry is by far the most important environmental factor in daily experience. He is influenced more by it than by anything else. His existence is more directly concerned with the job than with anything else that can be thought of. To the adolescent this big thing looms up in the future as a necessity, opportunity, adventure, and as the chance to participate in the adult world. Much of his effort and much of his school training seem to be directed towards this goal. He is very early filled with the idea that the purpose of education is to prepare him for a job whenever the time comes for him to seek one. In the final period of his school life, at whatever stage that happens to be, the question of a job, what he is to do, where he is to get it, and how much he is expected to earn are of such importance that other things seem trivial. School children are very much more concerned with this practical question than they are with cultural things. Their plans for making a living are much more important to them at this stage than ideas of gratifying the tastes and inclinations which contact with the intellectual heritage of mankind might have aroused.

The percentage of pupils attending high school, or at least finishing the course, is so small and that of college so much smaller, that in the final appraisement of the effect of industry on the adolescent this first group may almost be disregarded. Two groups, then, one protected through adolescence by the shelter of school or college and the other thrown into the midst of industrial life, are contrasted. The adolescents belonging to either group might be expected to show differences, capable of interpretation from the point of view of their surroundings. The influence of environment in this regard and the mechanism involved ought to be clarified. The contrast, though sharp and definite as far as the social element is concerned, is not nearly as clearly defined in respect to the individual. The conflict is, in the one case, that is, for the adolescent at work, an actual thing, tangible, material, and ever present, part of the day's task and as such to be faced. In the other case, that is, for the adolescent at school, it is narrowed, circumscribed, theoretical, and often illusory. In the instance of the worker there is something that he can feel, touch, and be constantly aware of, can talk about if he desires, ask about, and change if he does not like it. In the case of the school child the conflict is rather in his own mind and not on the outside—in a sense he creates it, in another it is created for him by circumstances that he knows nothing about and would not be interested in if he did. Work in its practical meaning is far distant and his daily life appears to have no contact with it. He has, therefore, much opportunity to indulge in a half dreamy attitude to this distant thing and to endow it, if he sees fit, with the charm of the unknown and the attractiveness of the inexperienced. He is inclined to do all this the more as in his own home life, work is the most positive of all the things existing there. It must be clear then that in considering the relation of industry to adolescence two rather different aspects must be noted. The one has to do with the adolescent at school, the other with him at work as a wage-earner and, as is usually the case, a contributor to the family budget. Industry can be looked at as a sort of machine, a symbolic way of expressing its rôle at the time of adolescence. At first his part seems to be limited to that of an insignificant unit active in its least important workings. This idea of a machinelike organization seems to be applicable to the situation as a whole, as there is something automatic, irresistible, and consuming in the thought of the existence of an external mechanism reaching out into the inner corners of human groups to take this or that one away from normal surroundings and make use of him to make things for others to use.

There is a curious contrast in the fact that work is one of the earliest concrete ideas that comes to the child and yet his reaction to it is almost always as to something strange and unknown. Long before he is able to translate experience into ideas he has a notion of work in the sense meant here. To the average child growing up in the atmosphere of a wage-earning home the conception that there is something on the outside that fills up the time, life, and interest of his parents, and particularly his father, to the exclusion of almost everything else, is ever-present and insistent. The fact that this thing is a part and a natural part of daily life is evident enough, but what is not nearly so well understood is the fact that the child very often learns to think of this as of something almost fearful. Dissatisfaction or disappointment with the job is a fact in the lives of wage-earners and it is not surprising that the child in the house learns to feel, if not to understand, something of this. Too little has been made of the antagonistic attitude to the job that prevails in the average worker's home and too little attention has been paid to the effect of this upon the adolescent intelligence. Its influence upon the maturing years when this thing has to be faced and its burdens shared is apt to be important. Industry is often not the beneficent agency of comfort, ease, and security—an idea so precious to those that stress and glorify the gospel of work—but it is more often a grim mechanism on the outskirts of life with which at some time or other the adolescent must come to grips. At least this is the conception that is prevalent in the minds of many adolescents. As a contrast to this dismal picture there is another side which is attractive because it promises something that may replace the irksome duties, the discipline, and the boredom with which life in school is often filled. This is particularly so in the type of adolescent to whom school always seems to be an unnecessary burden and to whom the purpose of an education always remains a puzzle. This does not apply solely to the poor student, but as much to the one who does not understand and can never get the purpose of the mental training of which he is the object and sometimes indeed the victim. To the adolescent of this class, and it is by means so small as to be disregarded, the change from school to work appears as a release and he thinks of it romantically, as an opportunity for independence and contact with the alluring things of life, adding to the feeling of superiority which he feels even in contemplating the change in position which "going to work" will give him.

Whatever attitude the adolescent takes and whatever individual differences there may be, the fact of industry as an external element in the environment presents a mechanism out of which conflict arises. To this, adjustment is as necessary as in the case of any other environmental circumstance. The fact that industry is an almost automatic component of everybody's environment does not detract from its conflict importance, when the life of one individual is considered. The fact that this adjustment is sometimes carried out automatically and at other times unwillingly makes but little difference when considered from the point of view of environmental conflict. Adolescents are too commonly thought of as separate units instead of as members of a group and too often scrutinized without environmental inferences. The adolescent at work seems almost a conflict of terms and little attention has been paid to him, probably because he becomes soon immersed in the adult group of which he is a necessary part. He is no longer looked at as an adolescent as he is doing the same thing that a majority of adults are, that is, trying to get out of his environment the means to exist. Such an activity is generally considered a part of an adult's performance and no particular consideration should be given to the adolescent if he is engaged in work, because it is implied that when he does so his adolescent period is over. No one stops to inquire as to the fate of the adolescent strivings or what has happened to them during the period when they should be most manifest. The notion that one who goes to school is supposed to have these strivings and one who is not at school to escape them, is not adequate to the situation in the least. The escape of the adolescent worker, if there is an escape, would be a subject for fruitful study. That an adolescent reacts in some sort of fashion to his biologically stimulated functions no matter where he is and under no matter what conditions he may be at that time is self-evident. A little thought will show that the great majority of all adolescents in our present organization of society pass the greater part of their adolescent life, or some period of it at any rate, in the field of organized industry under conditions that give to their trends and impulses little chance to express themselves normally and naturally. This would appear to be a paradoxical situation if it were not for the fact that industry has not arisen out of a biological need but purely as an economic necessity which cannot, of course, take into account the human machine except as an integral part of its own proper functioning. Industry, whatever its great contribution to humanity may be, is certainly not a mechanism favorable to the adolescent in respect either to his mental or physical development. The rigidity and inelasticity of industrial organization forces the young subject to a too early conformity with a system that is not and cannot be concerned with individual variations, while such concern is an essential condition for the free play of the activities of the adolescent period. Industry puts a premium on conformity according to which a set pattern is devised to produce an efficient kind of conduct in respect to a particular kind of task. The perfection of the pattern in one job is the best reason for transference to another in which the demands are a little more exacting and the pattern a little more complicated and as the adolescent advances to the one above he finds no essential difference except in regard to the complexity of the pattern. By the time maturity is reached the adolescent has in a great degree lost the chance, forever, in most instances, of attaining the training in adaptability which is one of the great benefits to be won from a normal and natural handling of the conflict process. The industrial system gets hold of him so early that his own strivings are given no freedom of play—without question and without rebellion he conforms.

A distinction is to be made between conformation and adaptation. They are essentially different things. There is no advantage in point of character-building in the simple process of imitation; the advantage is only to industry or whatever he conforms to. He surrenders nothing, because he has in reality attained nothing and he becomes as nearly as he can the perfect small unit in the machinery of production, a perfectly smooth-working tooth in a cog. In so doing he achieves two things—one is the favorable opinion of his superior and the other is the avoidance of a struggle to overcome resistance which his own nature would ordinarily force him to set up. That there are many exceptions is evident and that many examples of successful strivings in place of surrender are found is true, but the great average is more or less in the line of no resistance and therefore no victory. The examples are few in which the individual pulls himself out of the rut and lands on a level where the gratification of personal differences may be attained and a place is reached where the drab adolescent struggle of the worker is replaced by the legitimate effort to interpret his environment in line with normal expansion of interest and appreciation.

So much dead timber there must be in the world and so much remains no matter what is done about it. It is generally held that the adolescent who belongs there should be permitted to remain there and that the natural law under which a certain fixed percentage of the human race is exploited by a certain other fixed percentage should be allowed to work out as it always has in the past. This is the attitude as a whole toward the adolescent's problem in industry and such a view might be left unchallenged were it not for the fact that adolescence is the hopeful period in life where the mental mechanism may work to a successful achievement in the way of changing the whole tenure of taste, inclination, and the awakening of sufficient energy to follow new trends to some sort of attainment. At least the adolescent should be given the chance no matter how small the percentage of progress or success may be. If this is not done then the average adolescent worker begins his wage-earning life much too soon to enable him to overcome the handicap and he emerges from that period too much influenced by the class traditions, too burdened by the tangible facts of a restricted outlook ever to recover entirely and see things differently. Of course this view is not a practical one and has nothing to do with the industrial point of view as such. It is merely a kind of bird's-eye view of industrial organization as it exists to-day in regard to the adolescent who has to become an integral part of it. The adolescent has no background of conscious or unconscious conflict in the sense that has previously been pointed out and the release, through the normal exercise of the imagination, day-dreaming, phantasy, and other side-tracking devices, is clear. These tendencies are choked in the atmosphere of the material world about him. Any dwelling in a world of unreality in which the faculties of the inner life are given free play is replaced by a world of hard facts, difficult experiences, and the contact of the ugly side issues of a workman's day. Nothing here need be said of the physical features of the adolescent at work, the disadvantages which labor produces in the developmental state of a boy or girl nor of the unhygienic atmosphere in which a large part of each day is spent. If such surroundings are bad for the adult they are doubly bad for his much less mature fellow worker. No matter how much the philosophy of toil is stressed and no matter how glorious the triumphs of industry may be regarded, there is nothing that can be said that supports the idea that it is a good place for the adolescent under present conditions.

It is a difficult matter to set down in a tangible manner just what are the effects upon an adolescent who enters modern industry too early. If he is studied in comparison with one where no such necessity exists there ought to be certain differences capable of description and analysis. The two figures are after all much alike as far as superficial examination goes. It is only by the most careful scrutiny that there is found the presence of mental qualities that are characteristic of adolescent strivings in the one case and the dulling of these same qualities in the other. It seems at first a purely quantitative difference, but in the end the difference seems to be much more fundamental as maturity sharpens the picture. On the other hand work has many advantages, especially as it encourages discipline, obedience, recognition of authority, promptness, accuracy, and other qualities of a like kind which are necessary for the maintaining of a job. Many of these things are the products of sheer necessity and are not the results of any real understanding of what they mean in a larger sense, nor do they arise out of any larger social response. The incentive for their cultivation arises from without and is due in a great measure to the pressure of material advancement and not to an inner need or to a conviction that such things are good because they lead to a better use of the mind and that they can stimulate and exercise the spirit in the direction to which education may lead. The whole point is, that it is of importance to the adolescent to acquire faculties that increase mental exercises of all sorts, but that they should come from a need arising out of himself and not be forced upon him by the material insistence of holding a job or advancing his material interests. At this period of life there should be the freest play of the spirit of and for itself. Later, of course, there is naturally the feeling of self-interest and the dominating idea of self-maintenance in a hostile world, but then it is too late for the other point of view to develop.

Something might be said for the conception that maintains that industry is simply the continuation of the school and has the material of education inherent in itself. Employment and education might together be useful and advantageous to adolescence. If this were so it would be of added value because that kind of discipline merging into the lives and affairs of the workaday world should prepare the adolescent for a more intelligent participation in the affairs, activities, and movements of a developing culture. It is partly on this account, perhaps, that so much attention is given at the present to the vocational aspect of education. To prepare a child very early for his job and to train him in school to fill a definite position seems perfectly logical at first sight. From the point of view of the adolescent in respect to his complete and possible growth and evolution into the adult personality nothing could be more absurd. The infiltration of industry into the school life is a product of the industrial age and has nothing whatever to do with the mechanics of human development. The kind of job that is open to the adolescent in a great majority of cases calls for absolutely no skill and there is no need for special training. The only things that are essential are accuracy, obedience and promptness, and things of that sort. The less he knows of other things the better workman he will be and the more satisfied to stay on a particular job. The present needs of civilization require so much man power or so much adolescent power and there must be a constant source of supply and a constant source of renewal. This the adolescent in industry helps to create. There is no other question that comes into the matter except that, and any honest inquiry as to the kind of jobs that are open to the adolescent will attest the correctness of this conclusion.

In stating this aspect of the adolescent the economic question does not intrude, and no question of the demand that confronts him or his family, nor of the required assistance in a financial way to the family are touched upon.

There is no place either, in such a discussion, for the political phase of the adolescent at work. Child-labor laws and all questions that hang about this phase of the matter fall outside of the purpose of this book and are not pertinent issues. It can, however, be said that there must be behind such agitation a sustained feeling on the part of the adult world that there is something primarily objectionable to industrial infiltration into the life of a growing child, no matter how acute the economic necessity may be. There is something in questions of this nature that touches on the primitive instinct to protect the child so that his chance for adult development may not be interfered with. The adolescent who is forced by economic need or who goes to work of his own choice is suffering from a faulty organization of society, due to the fact that it has been unable to adjust its progress so that the whole of the people can be taken care of as advantageously as a selected group. Whatever the explanation and whatever the remedy may be, the fact remains that the adolescent has little chance to work out his fate for his own or society's advantage if he is forced or chooses to work at the time that his greatest promise of personal achievement is at hand. It is in this period of growth that adaptability and environmental adjustment are most easily accomplished, or at least that the foundations towards this end are most advantageously laid.

Consideration must be given to the adolescent who does not care to go to school and has no wish to finish, who, for example, is not compelled by financial pressure to enter the world of work, for whom study has no attraction and sustained effort in that direction is not acceptable. He is obviously unfitted to be kept in school as he is an extra weight to be carried. If he is compelled to attend school either by legal means or any other process he is apt to be a detriment both to himself and to the class to which he happens to belong. Such a group is comparatively small in proportion to the large group that has just been described, and here again no adequate study or effort has been directed toward this problem as such and its solution in the case of the individual child. The educational system must in some way be so modified that this group will never be large enough to present any serious menace. Methods are slowly being developed at the present time by which individuals in such a group might be reached even in a method of mass education and even in so rigid a system as is prevalent in the schools to-day. That there will always be victims of any system no matter how excellent it may be is too obvious to question, but that the percentage of adolescents who fall into the group of unwilling students grows less should be considered as the proof of the excellence of the system no matter upon what basis it is built up.

Industry has been shown so far as a sort of artificial bridge which carries the adolescent over his conflict period, landing him in the post-adolescent stage without the chance of immersing himself, so to speak, in the current of the river itself. The bridge is a sort of short cut and tends to render too safe the crossing. Leaving figures of speech aside, the fact remains that the adolescent needs the struggle with himself of which industry tends to deprive him. In the period of his life in which he must in some way learn to face himself and test himself out with the newly found power of self-examination and criticism, he enters industry, or becomes one of a thousand in some department store, or enters into a large factory, or becomes stock boy, errand boy, or what not. By virtue of his position and surroundings he begins to embrace the attitude of his co-workers on all questions that touch on his job and assumes preconceived ideas, prejudices, and false notions as a part of his immediate experience, becoming mentally inelastic and rigid. He begins to show the lack of venturesome spirit and becomes steadily afraid of the experiences in life instead of eagerly desiring them and enthusiastically going to meet them. The world of reality is too definitely organized and he is in too close touch with it to permit the blooming of the spirit that flourishes best in that region lying between the beginning and end of adolescence. Something has gone out of the life of one who has skipped that period, something of great value and preciousness that can not be replaced and unfortunately can never be relived. It would be of advantage for the better understanding of the whole of adolescence were it possible to trace in any one subject the lack of this experience or to say in any given instance that such and such an adult showed evidence that his adolescent period had been passed in the midst of and under the influence of industrial pressure, and further to decide in another instance that that period had been passed under the favorable influence of school life more or less untrammeled. The lack of definite indications either way prevents any such group division and there is only place for speculation as to what kind of personality might have been possible if conditions had been other than they were.

The pressures of industry and of school are not so different in many respects, if both are of the impersonal and inelastic type. The effects in a general way may be similar in either of the two conditions. The wider these two environmental influences grow apart or rather the more nearly both may grow to ideal conditions the less will the adolescent suffer from perverse influences. Industry, in our present meaning of the term, cannot be expected to change much, except along the lines of efficiency in production, so that it remains for the school to take on the elastic elements that are so favorable to the growth and development of the adolescent. Industry therefore comes to be seen as one of the sources of conflict and stands out as the one in which there is less chance for individual adaptation than almost any other because of its rigid organization and for the reason that it logically has no place in the life of the adolescent at all. It is one of the things that meets no real need and its injection into his life is the result of pressure from the outside without any seemingly biological relation to organic growth, nor does it represent any real necessity except the one of economic need. In spite of this, however, industry means more to the average adolescent than almost anything that will be considered, because at the present he is living in an industrial age. Among all the environmental facts industry stands out as the most urgent; the one with which acquaintance is most intimate and the one that indirectly exercises its influence most definitely upon the immediate surroundings and therefore has the most important influence upon the personalities making it up. Any consideration of the average family will show that one of the common ties binding them together is that of work and the urge to financial independence, which to the average workman means a well-paid job, the tenure of which is secure and long. It is this fact that early penetrates the understanding of the adolescent and when his own time comes to work he is very familiar with the institution of industry in all of its varied characteristics.

There is a phase of industry that should be mentioned and that is the effect of industrial leaders upon the adolescent worker. The substitution of the captains of industry for the heroes of his imaginative interpretation of history and poetry takes place quickly and very positively. As one of the outstanding traits of the adolescent there has been mentioned the tendency to personalize the subject matter of his daily experience as it touches the world's heritage of man's experience. There is a well-marked impulse to relive in himself ancestral adventures and fates. In this imaginative activity many valuable mental exercises are given an opportunity to expand and develop. All this furnishes that mental elasticity which is so important at the later stages of growth. The importance of endowing these figures with virtues and qualities they probably did not possess lies in the fact that the ideal strivings have won for themselves a way out. In this way they have an opportunity not of becoming articulate perhaps but of defining themselves to the person concerned. The ideal of the self is crystallized in a striking manner and often its impress can be traced in future years.

When the adolescent enters any kind of industry he is immediately influenced by the practical and tangible elements in his life and soon learns to look upon his previous hero selections as evidences of immaturity, childishness, and foolishness. Unconsciously his standards of greatness and fineness are changing. His conception of ideal figures and ideal lives breaks away from the old traditions of the human race and for all these elements out of his past life he fits in the present-day figures to whom the world about him bows down in respect, reverence, and envy. Very soon then in his life as a workman the successful business man becomes the figure of his dreams, and his imagination and all the romance of his earlier phantasy now enfold this drab figure. Perhaps before the effect of the adolescent tinkering with a world of imaginary figures, derived for the most part out of the past, has had a chance to exercise its stimulating influence, they are rudely snatched out of his consciousness. They are replaced by the everyday figures of industrial leaders, men of affairs, captains of great organizations, the accumulators of wealth, heads of labor organizations, etc., who become for him names to conjure with and examples to strive after. The acquisition of material things, the ideals of material power and its exercise tend to fill his imagination and the old figures fade away forever. The impress of the old heroes is so evanescent that they have no influence on conduct, point of view, or thought and he becomes, so far as imagination goes, the product of the industrial world in which he is not only living but taking an active part.

In most instances this change is brought about without dislocation and produces no tangible effect whatsoever. In some instances, however, the result is seen in the evidence of a struggle and the production of a series of conflicts that produce no serious effect, perhaps, but present a sad and pathetic picture of youth. What happens is an overemphasis, an overcompensation, so that the old figures of the spirit are not merely forgotten but forgotten with an insistence that blots them out and destroys them completely. The adolescent in this instance becomes too representative of his world and the very exaggeration of the picture is evidence of the perfect obliteration that takes place. In attempting to analyze this situation there is no attempt to advocate replacing the heroes of the present by those of the past nor to argue about the comparative worth of the two sets of ideal figures. It is necessary to face the fact that this is an industrial age and that the heroes of any age are the outstanding figures of that age. From the adolescent's point of view, however, this transition must be of some consequence. It is largely due to the fact of his too early entrance into the industrial field that he is deprived of the chance to develop his notions gradually out of hesitating experiences, attempts at adaptation, and the exercise of choice and discrimination. Imitation is one of the outstanding elements of the adolescent's make-up and the kind of person he wishes to be is often the direct consequence of the figures that inhabit his imaginary world. If these are shifting and tenuous and ever changing from the higher to the lower type, then his conduct is influenced in the direction toward the less worthy rather than the more worthy. The figures of the present are known too well; their traits, virtues, and vices are too definite; while the figures of the past can be endowed with all the necessary qualities which arise out of the heroic instinct and thus become in reality ideal figures. The adolescent puts into them and clothes them with the products of his own imaginative life and endows them with his own ideal strivings; whereas the present-day figures come into his world ready-made and all trapped out in the figments of actuality. This is one of the most important effects of a too early activity in industry as far as the personality of the adolescent is concerned and represents possibly the most urgent criticism against it. These things plus the physical disadvantages account in large measure for the idea that on the whole industry is one of the pernicious environmental factors of the adolescent and that its chief power of evil is due to the economic necessity which drives him into its world before he is either physically or mentally ready.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

IT is traditional that religion and the religious awakening, are intimately associated with the adolescent period and form one of its most outstanding and significant features.

Students of religion in its special relation to youth have accentuated the importance of the adolescent period as one in which there is a peculiarly sensitive reaction to spiritual, mystical, and religious influences. There is historical authority for this statement, as in almost all religious systems it was the adolescent period above all others that came to be thought of as the strategic opportunity in which to introduce youth into the formulated traditions of the church. This came about not only because of the approaching physical and mental maturity, but because there was an unconscious recognition of the spiritual instability and the labile and unstable character of the adolescent personality at that time. Most organized religious or church organizations have fixed the adolescent age as that in which the individual can be most advantageously approached in regard to qualifications for taking a less passive part in religious rites and practices than was possible at an earlier age. The adolescent was regarded as having attained sufficient understanding and comprehension to become affiliated in a more or less active way with organized religion. The pre-Christian religions as a whole placed the age in males between twelve and fourteen years. At the present time the age traditionally associated with the beginnings of sexual maturity is regarded as fixing the time when participation in church activities can be initiated. It is difficult to determine whether this time was selected for that reason alone or because other evidences of physical growth became then apparent. This question, however, does not touch the really important point which is rather an inquiry into the adolescent as he is seen to-day in regard to his religious reactions, or rather the influence of religion as an environmental factor in that period.

Religion in this sense can be regarded as a device arising out of the environment to prepare the way and to group and organize the adolescent's tendency toward an awakened curiosity in regard to the meaning and significance of his existence. Whether this tendency arose of itself in the adolescent or was put there by the happenings about him is of small consequence. What light, if any, can be thrown on this question, must be obtained from the adolescent himself, but the fact remains that no study of the adolescent is complete or accurate without taking into account the age-old observation that there is something taking place during this period that stimulates or arouses a latent urge toward orientation in relation to the unseen and unfelt world.

This tendency may be so slightly in evidence that considerable effort is necessary to trace it, or it may dominate the picture so completely that nothing else appears of equal importance. There is nothing to suggest that those who saw such tendencies in the adolescents of their generation made any conscious effort to interpret adolescence from the religious point of view or that there was any agreement as to the meaning of religion in either its social or individual sense. Ideas and notions of this sort grow into settled habits of thought through long experience and each generation finds it easier to follow the example of the preceding one than to find out or experiment with something new. So it happened that church affiliation of one sort or another came to be associated with the period of development in which the essential elements regarded as evidence of physical maturity definitely became manifest. Arbitrarily, just as the age of twenty-one became fixed as the necessary qualification for citizenship and legal responsibilities, that of adolescence came to be regarded as the earliest age in which the developing girl or boy might be expected to come to some sort of conclusion in the matter of religion. At this time in nearly all cultures the way is prepared for entrance in some fashion or other into the formulated structure of organized religion. The more important thing, however, is not the consideration of the old order of things, nor the origin of the tendency to synchronize adolescence with the initiation of religious observances, but the consideration of the attitude of the adolescent to religion as an enmeshing environmental factor. Any thoughtful consideration of this problem makes it necessary to have some sort of idea, and a definition founded upon it, of the meaning and significance of the term itself, and also an approach to an analysis of the adolescent from the point of view of the conception of religion formulated.

Whatever notion of religion is finally thought out, the key remains, so to speak, in the hands of the adolescent. It is his test rather than one's own that is of value. Is the adolescent as he presents himself in the mass or as an individual subjected in any marked degree to the influence of religious appeal? Is this an artificial environmental effect or is it some innate impulse arising out of conflicts present at this time? Is there ground for believing that the reaching out for some tangible source of aid, comfort, and support outside and apart from social contacts, has its origin in a kind of normal tendency in the human organism? These and other similar questions demand answer before the place which religion occupies in the framework of adolescence can be clearly surveyed.

There is room for speculation in attempting to answer these questions and it is difficult at all times to steer clear of the kind of controversy which all religious problems seem to arouse, but if it be kept in mind that the purpose of this effort is to see as clearly as may be into the recesses of the adolescent mind in its reaction to religious things, then divergences of opinion may be excused on account of the difficulty of the problem rather than because of set and dogmatic views. As the environmental aspect of religion is being considered and not anything else, a definition must be predicated upon that fact and that fact only. In this way the social formulation of religion becomes necessary and there is no need to bother about theological and other types of criticism. Religion from this point of view, then, is the attempt to formulate in some concrete, dogmatic, and understandable way the doubt, fear, and mystery in regard to the fact of existence, and particularly his own, as felt by a human being endowed with sufficient understanding to be aware of himself in relation to the world of reality about him. Its necessity as a social element is derived from the fact that there is nothing and possibly can be nothing in the external world as it is now or has been organized that can completely satisfy or significantly answer the ever-present questions as to purpose, reason, plan, or necessity of existence and the much more pertinent questions of death and the future beyond that. For an answer to these questions it is necessary to look beyond the data of observation and experiment and into that other territory where imagination, emotion, and fancy take the place of reality and observation. It would complicate the question needlessly if this statement should lead to a discussion as to the relative values in ascertaining the truth of these different ways of using the mind.

It may be admitted that as far as can be seen at the present stage of knowledge, the truth about religion, in so far as there is a truth, may be arrived at as easily by one type of reasoning as by the other. The scientific method throws no light on the questions arising out of religion, nor indeed is it primarily a function of science to be concerned with the kind of data that religious inquiry demands. It is, therefore, permissible and feasible to utilize emotion, feeling, intuition, and other devices of a like kind to throw whatever light is possible on the subjects that naturally arise when such questions present themselves. Science in this instance has the function merely of guarding and guiding the inquiry so that its results are scrutinized with the same care that they would be if a definite, tangible and material subject were being investigated. All that this really means is the substitution of tolerance for prejudice, of exact facts for inexact, and the necessary care in deductions from those facts which are ascertained. The scientist in spirit as well as in fact could never be intolerant of another's interpretation of religious ideas, as he might well be in the case of obviously faulty scientific method.

If the definition of religion thus far attempted is capable of useful interpretation it is necessary to note a further series of facts. Among the more important of these is that religion essentially deals with a series of formulations and patterns. These on the whole refer to types of conduct and behavior. Such become stereotyped and conventional so that the observances of religion come often to mean in the long run rather things that are done than things that are thought about. It is through the translation of ideas into forms of action that the social significance of religion becomes important and in such a fashion that to the adolescent this element in his environment stands out so prominently that religion often means very little else. So there is the complex mixture of the world of the spirit as it may be called and the world of religious reality. The crude and instinctive impulses implied in the idea of religious needs or trends are not sufficient in themselves to exercise any sort of social pressure, or indeed influence. They must in some way be cast and recast with ever-changing environmental requirement into a series of statements or definitions, commands, and taboos. These must infiltrate into the secret places and into the nooks and corners of the social structure, and further they must be cemented there, first by usage, then by tradition, and chiefest of all by fear and anticipatory dread. Then too they must be wise and beneficial and they must contain easily understandable elements of advantage to the individual and to society as a whole. No religion which can neither benefit nor protect the individual could hope to survive. This is so clear that none are without these two requirements and those religions having the longest historical continuity are marked by outstanding elements of personal advantage and reward. The necessity for thus analyzing the religious situation presented to the adolescent is evident since there is presented to the adolescent the complication of two kinds of what may be called religious thinking; one having to do with his own intimate reaction to the mystery of himself, and one reflecting the world of reality, the world of conduct, and the world of social facts. This first type of religious reaction is still to be considered because it strikes deeply into that stratum of the adolescent which is peculiarly sensitive to the dreamy and mystical. Is there an innate spiritual striving deeply embedded in human consciousness towards the hidden universe representing something entirely disconnected and independent of personal benefit and protection—something that transcends religion as a social organization and reflects an inner need with which the conflicts and detachments of adolescence are in full sympathy? It is necessary only to glance at the complexity of forces with which religion in this sense is intimately related to appreciate that religion is no simple matter and that it is more difficult to be sure of what is true in the case of the adolescent than in the mature and more evenly molded adult, for whom religion has become often something that implies social significance only. It is necessary, therefore, to gather together these two distinct threads of religious trends and from their varying aspects attempt to see what can be ascertained of the adolescent reaction to the more tangible and more exactly perceived religious organization as it confronts him in a more worldly sense as part of his social inheritance.

It is well then to begin the study of the adolescent's religious reactions with the idea that there is something of a primitive and essential element in all religious reactions whatever their nature may be. Whatever name is given to these trends, whether instincts, reflexes, or physiological types of pattern conduct, or anything else, the fact remains that they are innately bound up with two primary attributes of human beings, one a consciousness of self, an awareness of self in relation to the environment, and the other a curiosity in relation to the outstanding facts of existence—birth, death, and the future. At just what period in the growth of a child this sense of religion becomes manifest it is difficult to determine, because there is much confusion caused by the early infiltration of religious ideas derived from the immediate environment. These come from instruction, explanation, and the conventional interpretation of the Bible, together with contact with the social aspects of the church as distinct from religion. A good deal of this is not religion at all, but has elements of fear, dread, punishment, and particularly the conception of sin, all mixed up in a confused and puzzling mass of contradictory things. The organization of these ideas into settled and fixed patterns of action and beliefs is accomplished through devices of repetition, application of authority, and the development of rigid conformation, which do much to neutralize the sensations of dread and fear which contemplation of the future so often produces. The set pattern of religious conduct found already fixed in the immediate environment seems sufficient. It is much easier to accept that which is already provided than to adventure in the unknown and unfrequented pathways which the instinctive trends of the adolescent's mind would otherwise lead to. So for the majority of adolescents, the beliefs, traditions, and religious concepts of those about him, together with the socially organized church with which the family is associated, prepare and direct him on his religious journey. Without a jar he fits himself into the well-born mechanism and becomes a part in the complete machine. To such there is often reserved for the future the birth of doubt and skepticism which may do much to destroy the spiritual significance of what is in truth the reality of religion in its larger sense. In this fashion the environment fastens itself upon the adolescent, as religion becomes a matter of formal conduct and not of intimate concern, nor is it as it might well be the product of mental conflict in which a desire to understand is most potent.

The average is stressed here because this opens the way towards the understanding of the origin of one of the most important of the unfortunate by-products of the social side of religion: that is, intolerance and the intolerant attitude. The attempt to trace intolerance to the adolescent's contact with religion is of more importance than is apparent at first glance. As a characteristic of the mental make-up of the adolescent, intolerance easily takes precedence; at least to the outside world the adolescent seems the most intolerant of persons. If this curiously paradoxical quality could be understood something of value in regard to other characteristics would likewise be gained. It has a much greater value even than that, for this quality influencing human conduct in all sorts of ways has been of vital consequence in the story of man's struggle with the social structures which have come about in his effort at environmental adjustment. To know something about the origin of such a spirit might furnish the means of combating it at so early a stage that it would lose some of its malignant influence. The intolerant attitude is not confined to religious questions, but is found to be an almost constant element in all social and economic questions which the adolescent in his future activities may be expected to meet. It is perhaps not too much to say that no factor in the make-up of an individual has greater consequences to him as an individual and to society as a whole than the establishment of the spirit of tolerance and nothing has apparently retarded the logical and symmetrical development of human society more than the intolerant attitude. What does it mean, therefore, for the adolescent, and why is intolerance so intimately connected with the religious spirit to which it is fundamentally alien? The understanding of this paradoxical situation is of consequence and no little of the puzzle of the adolescent may be appreciated if some illumination can be thrown on the tangle of conflicting cross currents out of which it has come.

There is nothing in the adolescent personality, with the exception of sex, that strikes so deeply into the primary levels of his structure as his answer to the enigma of his own existence. If he can reach a satisfactory level of, let us say, comfort about this, he has solved a very important problem. If this answer is furnished for him, which unfortunately the social side of religion is prepared to do, he sacrifices something of the greatest value to himself and is more likely than not to substitute for a liberal spirit one of intolerance and lack of sympathy for any other solution than that which he has taken for his own. This is the beginning of that tendency which controverts every inspiring element in the human spirit and out of which, for the adolescent as well as the rest of us, tragic consequences follow.

It would be interesting to know something about the way that this turning comes about. Essentially it would seem that intolerance should have no place in the adolescent make-up unless it were put there by some power outside of himself. Adolescence has been referred to frequently as a kind of testing period, a time in which adventuresomeness rather than fixed tenures blossom. It seems logical to blame a good deal of the intolerance of the adolescent upon religion so warped in its method of presentation that it brings into the adolescent something that naturally does not belong there. Its basis rests upon a peculiar human characteristic through which any acquisition, material or not, becomes immediately personal, infiltrated through and through with the flavor and warmth of ownership. Those who do not possess this thing, whatever it may be, become inferior and are regarded with a kind of contemptuous superiority. With this there develops fear that what one has possessed may be taken away and in order to prevent this, arrogance, cruelty, and selfishness stimulate conduct which will prevent it. Intolerance has its basis, therefore, in uncertainty, suggesting that there is a shifting ground underneath the seemingly fixed conclusions finally reached. From indecision and the feeling that what is held to be true is uncertain there is a tendency to shut the door upon the intrusion of new and uncomfortable ideas.

The explanation seems rather to lie in the direction of a prepared soil. The adolescent has been long prepared by his contact with the fixed opinions of his environment to seize upon religious ideas with a sense of possession because they fit in more nearly with what he at this time regards as more vital than other ideas and other conceptions. In dealing with his own life in relation to its future and to the rewards and punishments so emphasized in religious traditions, he senses the increase in personal interest in such ideas as contrasted to many of the others with which he has had to deal. He is prepared for the attitude of intolerance and as the presentation of religion is filled with that spirit he finds it easy of acceptance. Intolerance is therefore seen to be not only a product of the interest in religion awakened at the adolescent period, but also a characteristic element in personality make-up, the roots of which extend back. That quality which appears under the stress of the adolescent conflict in the matter of religious interest is essentially the same kind of thing that he presents to the external world as a characteristic in the face of other conflicts. The reason for stressing this unworthy effect of the interest in religion rather than some of the more admirable, lies chiefly in the remote and far-reaching effects of the adolescent reaction in ways of thinking and in the formation of attitudes toward important environmental factors in his future social and communal life. The statement that intolerance as a factor in the future life of any individual is always a product of the religious conflict at adolescence is open to all sorts of objections, chiefly because it is impossible to determine in any given case just when and exactly how any character element is built up. There is something, however, in the way and in the manner in which religious ideas are presented to the average adolescent which so accurately fits into the natural tendencies of that period in regard to fixation of ideas as a way of escape from perplexity that the statement at least is justified in so far as it suggests that intolerance finds a soil already fertile for its acceptance.

A much more important and a much more illuminating result of the religious infiltration is found in the development of the dreamy or mystical attitude which is a direct product of the awakening faculty of introspection already mentioned. For the adolescent there is furnished by the organization of religious beliefs and creedal structure with its extra-material atmosphere many things which suggest the intimate relation of these things to something familiar and personal. Much of the dream life that is so usual and commonplace in his daily existence finds in religious day-dreaming an exact counterpart. He can walk in such territory easily and intimately and there appears little that is strange or unaccountable. In this sense religion ceases to be the socially organized thing that his environment presents, and something infinitely far removed from the evidences of reality in the way of churches, sermons, school. In the retirement into the spiritual recesses of his dream existence religion carries a strong appeal and he might readily find an outlet for many of the nebulous thought structures through which the stern realities of existence are mitigated. But he is not left alone and perhaps cannot be. As soon as he becomes aware that religion presents a series of definite commitments to which allegiance must be given and as soon as he is made to understand that the particular variety that is presented to him implies that all the others are wrong, then there is substituted something foreign in every respect to the mystical freedom of his own spiritual exercises. The conflict that is thus presented drives him directly to the acceptance of the rigid and conventional religious structure and the mystical element gradually fades away. The adolescent thus becomes creedal far more stiffly than the creed itself demands. He is often driven to exaggerate the implications of a statement of religious beliefs in order to find some place for the exercise of his emotional reactions to them. He must find an additional source of comfort in the mere excess of zeal. It may almost be said that the adolescent's religious reaction is the most intense religious experience that the average individual experiences, chiefly because there is little in the way of average world contact to mold such excesses into milder and more adaptable types of conduct. It is a strange commentary on the power of religious revival, as shown at least in the case of the adolescent, that in spite of the fervor of his religious reactions the effect on social conduct is so evanescent and often is entirely absent. The tenets of all religious formulations, that is, all that are recognized as forming a part of our present civilization, contain statements of the highest moral and ethical significance. These are often race idealizations from which the highest type of conduct ought to result. Practically all religions insist that tenets of belief should be translated into performance. This is the only evidence of their real acceptance. Yet in the case of the religiously impressed adolescent it is only rarely that his behavior is altered or that his social reactions are in any way changed. Something gets in the way of performance of its logical relationship to mental content. That something can be no other than the influence of the reality of the world about him and the effect of the conduct types that are constantly before him. These have a way of being always the same and the pattern of conduct laid down by social imitation remains uninfluenced by the ideals which religion seeks to waken. Therefore, in spite of the often intense emotional experiences that religion stimulates, there remains in the adolescent as in the adult a seemingly impossible separation between religious idealism and social conduct. There is substituted a kind of middle ground in which conduct is guided by social usage, standards of which remain as a steady influence while those stimulated into existence by the religious impulses fade away into the background among the other dream material to be used in processes of rationalization when conduct needs to be explained and interpreted, because justification and its resulting comfort are needed.

Another result of the influence of religion on the adolescent arises from an early conscious recognition of the social importance of religion. The adolescent, not for the first time perhaps, realizes that he belongs, that he is part of an organization larger and more important than his family and his social group. Something of this sort is no doubt perceived when he first goes to school or when he is first introduced to the instruction of religion at Sunday school. This, however, is apt to be vague and disconnected. The intense emotion associated with anything religious is lacking at that early stage. In the process of religious affiliation, the adolescent feels his social existence beginning and his group consciousness stimulated in a way that never afterwards can be so keenly felt. This is particularly so in religions which make for a definite separation of those that do and those that do not belong. It is interesting to note that such a tendency is readily exercised, because among adolescent phenomena the impulse towards the conception of individuality is always prominent. The conscious realization of group interest is a beginning towards self-identification and is one of the devices useful in the division of people into groups in which one is aware of differences from other like-intentioned groups. In attempting to grasp the essential religious reactions of the adolescent it is well to consider the fact that the mass of them must be thought of and not merely those in the minority who happen to belong to one's own particular class.

It must always be remembered that adolescence includes individuals belonging to all groups and classes. The enormous spread of possible religious influence at this age can readily be appreciated if it is known that in one religious organization, for example, in this country about one in ten adolescents belong and that in two of the others at least half as many. It is necessary to accentuate this at the present moment because to the average reader perhaps the importance of religion in his own adolescence or that of his children seems negligible, because he happens to belong to a group in which religion as an organized force seems to be of little moment. One so skeptical must remember that it is religion that has perhaps the strongest social organization of any of the institutions in the adolescent environment and that the whole of this enormous power is focused upon the adolescent at one or several stages of his development and that it reaches its greatest initial influence at just the time when receptivity is most delicately adjusted.

It is interesting to consider the differences between the influences regulating conduct under parental control and those exercised by religion at the time of adolescent awakening. Various questions are involved, chiefly concerning the kind and type of authority and the influence of traditional and customary sorts of conduct. The conduct control which should be exercised by obeying the tenets of religion ought logically be much more definite than that exercised by the pressure of the environment. The ever-present idea of sin and its consequences and the vague and often terrible penalties characteristic of most religious authority might be expected to prevent the adolescent from deviating from the strict line of duty. This is so especially because emotion and feeling lie at the back of religious reactions at this time, rather than the control exercised by custom. Respect and fear of parental authority and what may be called family influence has by now lost a good deal of its power and has been replaced by something far more impressive and far more terrifying. Religious authority has entered into the situation and as a result the high places occupied by all other controls have been vacated. Curiously enough, the fear of sin and the dread of its consequences which so often fill the adolescent's mind with all kinds of terrifying pictures appear to be of little consequence in either controlling or modifying conduct or changing actions from the wrong to the right kind. Even at this early stage in the development of his religious life, the adolescent, as is the case of his more mature parent, finds a place for religion outside and apart from daily need and experience. This discrepancy exists not only at this period but is likely to continue for the rest of life. This refers not merely to the average adolescent with his religious experience attenuated by environmental indifference almost before it can manifest itself, but even to those cases in which religious reaction has been highly emotional and disturbing. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the inference seems justified that in spite of the extraordinary appeal which religion might be expected to hold for the adolescent, as a matter of fact it plays but an insignificant rôle in modifying or controlling conduct, and this soon ceases to be of much social importance.

Religion then in the life of an adolescent finds its place rather in his psychical life than in the external world of conduct and action. It fits into the recesses of his inner life and stimulates a part of his subjective self that finds now its first important opportunity for expression. It is rather an experience of spiritual activity than a manifestation of conduct and its external evidence is vague and uncertain. It appears to mingle rapidly with the rest of the material that has been withdrawn from contact with the world of reality and to play its part as dream material out of which many and strange deviations arise. Many newly awakened interests in the adolescent strivings are religiously tinged and activated. The newly stimulated concern with imaginative things, the often lively interest in and love of poetry, imaginative literature, the sensitiveness to things of beauty, the first timid approaches to artistic appreciation seem frequently to derive from the stimulus that contact with the idealism of religious thinking produces. The more this is removed from the daily impact of conduct and from the necessity of translation into definite types of action the more direct and close does this relationship appear to be.

The analogy between sex and religion almost irresistibly presents itself because these two urges are essentially adolescent in type and character, acting synchronously as far as stage in development is concerned. The analogy, however, is not deeper than that of their dynamic quality. Essentially they have little to do with one another in respect to mechanism. Religion has no factual proof of its existence as has sex. Activities of sex must be repressed or deviated. Religious activities are encouraged to express themselves. Religious reactions are socially desirable, those of sex are socially taboo. The analogy and the differences can be strung out much further without benefit. It is, however, important to consider both of these as important adolescent phenomena and to realize that their importance arises not from their similarities but because both have implied energies which produce adolescent conduct difficult to interpret without knowledge of their existence. Sex impulses are not readily translated into types of action, because of the necessity of repression; those of religion should be readily turned into conduct reactions because they are socially acceptable. Religion becomes to the adolescent a series of conduct manifestations and conduct controls not arising out of the newly aroused interest in itself, but laid down and conventionalized by the standards and customs that have arisen out of social organization, the details of which have been environmental facts almost from the first conscious realization of himself as a unit in a familiar group. The power inherent in the religious attitude to life is thus lost almost at its birth and it is replaced by a socially organized lot of formulæ that deviate in no important particular from any other kind of social commitments.

It is easily seen that no important difference exists between religion and sex as dominating factors in the emotional and imaginative life of the adolescent. It is indeed difficult to trace in any given case what influence the one exercises and what the other. In the matter of what may be called output in the way of things written, said, or produced, their origins whether of sex or religion escape interpretation. The two seem to be mingled by an appeal to a common source of emotional stimulus and to be composed of parts of either and elements of both. Sex and religion are thus to be viewed not as conventional manifestations of things that are done or not done, but as energizing and dynamic forces which lie at the background of the mind influencing thoughts, ways of feelings, intensity of reactions and introducing into the life of the adolescent emotional streams which are completely lost to sight and cannot be readily identified.

These notions and others that have been set down in the attempt to analyze the adolescent in his religious aspect may appear somewhat theoretical and visionary, a mental interpretation of no important practical value. It does not answer questions that automatically arise. Is the adolescent, as far as he can be observed, influenced by religion as it is? Does religion as it exists at the present time offer to the adolescent an opportunity to fit himself for the kind of spiritual life that can best make use of the heritage of religion? Is religion to the adolescent as important as it has been thought to be and in what way does religion change and influence him? These are questions that should be answered by any one trying to present the adolescent as a real person. In any large series of adolescent individuals there is little definite indication that religion is an important fact in their lives. To most of them religion simply means a belief in and an adherence to a series of statements, commands, and formulations. These consist in things that are not to be done rather than in things to do. Most of these, if at all, are accepted by the average adolescent without much debate and with little evidence of mental conflict. They belong to the same category of things that confront the adolescent in his daily doings as a member of a group. The enormous implications behind religious tenets as far as their origins are concerned, their divine and extra-world atmosphere and all the mystery which attaches to man's spiritual conflict, appear to escape the adolescent's scrutiny altogether. The immaturity of the adolescent's mind cannot explain these things satisfactorily, because matters of this kind interested the human mind when it was far less mature than that of the average adolescent. The explanation lies rather in the fact that there is nothing novel in the new presentation of religious facts. They are but the outgrowth as far as he is concerned of the social pressure that has confronted him from the beginning. There is perhaps a slight shifting of authority from something tangible, as implied in parental or other definite sources, to something far distant, intangible, and not to be recognized. Religion to him is derived from sources about him symbolized in the church, the catechism, the Bible, and the minister. Symbols have a way of getting themselves materialized and the things that they represent are soon looked upon as the things themselves. Religion then comes to mean rather an extension of social experience than anything new and wonderful. It means, if anything, a more complex environmental structure and perhaps a little more difficulty in adjustment and an addition to an already excessive social burden. Religion then seems about as important to the adolescent as going to a new school or doing something that means no more than some slight adjustment, a slight deviation from the customary. The other side, the background of emotion and the intensification of what has been called spiritual existence, is related, as has been said, to the levels of introspective and subjective activity.

There are, however, rare examples in which the religious infiltration into the life of the adolescent means a great deal more than this. To these, adolescence means religious awakening and very little else. To such rare individuals there comes a series of intense mental conflicts of a kind developing usually only in mature minds. To them the contrast between the world as it is and the religious world is of such a nature that existence in that outer world seems almost impossible and if possible scarcely worth while. The flaming up of the spirit, the passionate devotion to the ideas and concepts of divinity, whatever they may be, are the evidence of an emotional upsetting that often changes the whole tenor of life. Every one knows this type of adolescent and its rarity suggests merely that the set of present-day life is such that religion makes its appeal in accordance with it and only the unusually sensitive souls are capable of this kind of intense spiritual reaction.

That there is ready at hand in most adolescents the mechanism of what is regarded at present as this extreme religious demonstration is apparent, but as a rule the mechanism remains inactive. Religion then to the average adolescent is a social matter, a contrivance of social usage, planned to fit the adolescent more securely into the social fabric of which he is becoming more and more a part. It is rather an item in the building up of customary types of conduct, a series of settled ideas about unsettled things that give him a short path to convictions on things of paramount importance. It presents him with an opportunity to classify himself and in some instances shows him the way to material and even commercial preferment. It introduces an additional item in social classification so that he can belong. It gives him that sense of possession which is so valuable in maintaining a place in the struggle confronting him. Further, it furnishes him with a sense of superiority owing to the fact that others not so minded must be wrong and, for that reason, probably inferior. It is necessary to remember, however, that in spite of all this and in total disregard of the social and material aspects of conventional religion, there is in every instance a background on which religion touches that is capable of all kinds of rare stimulation and this mechanism exists no matter how deeply it is overlaid by social organization. It is this substratum, this sensitive level, which to the adolescent is the most significant thing as far as his religious experience is concerned.

CHAPTER XIII

SEX AS ENVIRONMENT

THE use of the word sex to denote an environmental factor needs some explanation, as its use in this sense is unusual. Sex is ordinarily considered a personal matter and in the case of the adolescent its manifestations are usually the reaction of self to the stimulus of the reproductive glands. This, however, is a rather limited way of thinking about it. Sex in its broad interpretation is to be viewed as a social question of importance and for this reason it has been the object of numerous efforts at social control and social organization. A mass of social ideas, traditions, and taboos has collected about the subject of sex, which forms in its complete structure one of the most difficult problems which the adolescent has to face. In this way sex becomes a subject of intimate personal concern and is one of the most significant features of the adolescent's biological reactions. Such reactions he finds are opposed by the tightly knit social fabric which throughout all ages has made a particular attempt to regulate and control sex. The environmental quality of sex can therefore plainly be stated and the justification in considering it as one of the important items in the adolescent's surroundings is clear. It is apparent too that in the conflict that develops, resulting from the opposition of ideas and interest, much can be known of the consequences which follow when so deep-seated an instinct meets the forces of control and inhibition which are the usual methods open to society in dealing with this problem. If the sex question as it confronts the adolescent is so regarded it will be seen that a great many of the devices of society are made use of in attempting to handle it. The state, with its laws and regulations, education and religion are involved in the task.

It is of course a difficult matter to separate factors that are social from those that are personal. Sex cannot be divided so that some of its manifestations are implicit in the personality of the adolescent and others limited to the world outside of him. There is no device through which the two can be arranged in a sort of tabulation. The question must be considered from as many points as possible in order to get some idea of the fate of the adolescent as he is caught in the complex maze of the interreaction between himself and society when the various manifestations of sexual activity appear.

If the fact of sex be considered as a kind of detached question and as a kind of impersonal phenomenon, its physiological place in the organic development of the individual can be thought out. Two questions present themselves. What is the meaning of sex and what is its real place in any effort to interpret the individual? Sex can be regarded as one of many functions or qualities of the human organization, quite in the same way as memory, imagination, intelligence, and such things as the nervous system, action of the heart, etc. Naturally there are no limits to be placed upon an effort to analyze into its component parts a complex structure. The human being can be divided into various sets of functions in order to see the relation between its various parts without in any way forcing such a method of study into a theory or point of view. If it is possible to get rid of the prejudices and superstitions that have clouded this subject, a clear-cut idea of the place of sex in the evolution of the human being may conceivably be arrived at. From an anatomical and physiological point of view sex is primarily a device through which the organism can reproduce itself and thus form a continuous line of similar organisms. This reproductive instinct or impulse is as much a primary function of all living things as growth, nutrition, adaptation, and other biological necessities. At first sex was an undifferentiated thing, each cell or group of cells having the male and female element contained in the total organization. As differentiation proceeded there were at first no female and male in the accepted sense of the term but each organism was bisexual not only in an anatomical but also in a physiological sense. With the further elaboration in structure and complexity in anatomical arrangement sex became differentiated not only in its functional but also in its anatomical structure and the female organism and the male organism became two separate beings. In the evolutionary process, when man was reached, sexual differentiation was an accomplished thing and the social recognition of this difference was for long, countlessly long, ages a part of his inheritance. In the early society the female became the protective object of laws, customs, and traditions and at the same time the male became the aggressive factor against which these institutions were devised. It is obvious that this statement simply furnishes a point from which a consideration of sex at the present time can be built up. The steps which made this differentiation possible or necessary need not be followed out as it would be involved in theories without end. In any consideration of the adolescent sex question a start must be made with a few primary broad assumptions and with as logical an interpretation of the historical development of sex as can be secured. Differences in treatment by society of the male and female are historical, traditional, and customary, whatever the causes that led up to this differentiation may be. The passive attitude of the female sexually and the less passive or aggressive attitude of the male forms then a starting point for further consideration.

When there took place in the development of social institutions a definite recognition of sex differences, then it can be said that the social phase of sex became established. What various attitudes towards sex primitive civilizations adopted are matters of speculation at the present time. Just when, in the course of the development of social institutions, sex and all its implications became matters of conscious scrutiny and when as a result this scrutiny became complicated with avoidance, sense of shame, sinfulness, and wrongdoing are things outside the scope of this discussion. The fact remains that society at the present time is on the whole representative of that curious tendency, traces of which extend back as far as the historical record goes. Both by avoiding the question as a whole, and by interfering with sex when its customs and traditions are transgressed, society has made logical and sensible methods at adaptation more difficult than need be. Society has taken towards questions of sex a curious point of view, which can be best described as a conscious avoidance of the fact of its existence. By assuming this attitude society hoped to escape any deleterious consequences that might develop as a result of the conflict between the individual and social customs.

Society, however, became inevitably concerned in the matter when in some fashion or other the laws and customs which have grown up were interfered with and broken. That is, when derelictions in regard to sex reached such a point that laws were broken, customs shattered, and crime or misdemeanors resulted. The state, at this point, stepped in and became active.

If the point of interest is now directed away from the more general aspects of sex to the adolescent, it is clearly seen that society has little or no interest in his sex life or sex experience, unless, and this is of a great importance, his reactions come into violent conflict with established laws, customs, and traditions. With this exception the burden automatically shifts to some other part of the social machinery. Naturally it drifts to the more immediate surroundings, that is, the family. Here is observed again the same tendency to ignore or rather in many instances to gloss over the whole matter under the pretense that sex is a kind of disgrace and its conduct manifestations a kind of crime. The confusion of sex and its manifestations with shame are devices as old as civilization. The religious and moral influences of ages have tightened up the taboo on sex until at present there seems no middle ground. The extremes of both sides fail to meet anywhere. On one side there seems to be nothing that is not sexually tinged and every institution has some of it, while on the other the restrictions and inhibitions are tightened and the resulting ignorance is regarded as the safest possible protection. Somewhere between these two extremes there must be found a method and an attitude which will be made up of the necessary degree of frankness, the necessary inhibitions, and necessary knowledge to construct a more logical social attitude. Especially is this true if the problem of adolescent sexuality is thought of as a task for society itself to undertake. In addition to the fact that there is a marked difference in social consideration between the male and female there is a tendency in our present social organization to ignore the whole question, refusing to give sanction to the most potent instrument to clarify the situation—that is, education. Perhaps this statement is somewhat exaggerated because at the present time there is coming into the schools a certain amount of rather feeble instruction on sex. This is very much guarded, often very much garbled, and it is given chiefly under the guise of an unsteady biological approach and is carried on often by those who are not qualified either by training or purpose. Information is furnished also through books and pamphlets which aim to give the facts of sex in a simple way and to give advice in the personal management of the problem. Some of this effort is worth while and a lot of it is worthless, but that some effort is being made signifies that society is by way of becoming concerned and is engaged in making an effort to face the situation created by sex in its adolescent manifestation as a social problem. Another angle of the problem, before touched upon, is the fact that adolescence and the sexual function in both man and woman are synchronous and that the anatomical evidence of sex and its physiological expression are things that require some explaining and interpretation.

The natural rhythm of growth and physical development should be taken into account in a detached consideration of the expansion of the sexual function, as is the case with any other physical fact. If attention is directed mainly to the outstanding fact of sex its relation to the rest of the evolution of the human body is lost sight of. Unfortunately to many the whole problem is simply sex and nothing further seems necessary. To those thinking in this way, if some kind of social balance is produced and if nothing unfortunate happens, the solution of the sexual problem appears attained. Such extremes of opinion and such socially inherited views are important, not of themselves, but as they affect the attitude of society to the adolescent and make his adaptation needlessly difficult. Against things of this sort the adolescent must necessarily come into opposition. Any serious view of the sex question as it affects him must take into account the organization of accumulated ideas which form the nucleus of the environmental attitude. Such attitudes and group opinions are not represented by persons or individuals as such, but stand out as a mass of traditional ways of thinking of which the adolescent soon becomes aware. A good deal of this he himself sooner or later gets to know about and includes them in his own stock of ideas. In this way he reacts not only to that which is his own but to the mass opinion represented by the external world.

The perplexing character of this situation becomes clear when the fact is considered that he is in opposition not only to the organized position of ideas in his own mind, but also to the crystallized opinion of the world on the outside. A great deal of this perplexity comes from the fact that sex as such does not reveal itself in the concrete way that might be expected from this statement of the situation. The adolescent himself has often only the vaguest idea of what this is all about, and is only aware of the strivings and the sense of a new and hitherto inexperienced group of sensations, often localized, which he is eager to understand. Such understanding is commonly denied him. Much of the ignorance and clumsiness on the part of those who might be expected to instruct the adolescent is a result of the general confusion which the subject of sex seems to cause when it requires discussion. There is no definite plan which can be followed in respect to the young adolescent by which this information can be imparted and his natural curiosity satisfied. The reason for this is that the passing generation has been accustomed to regard the subject of sex as taboo and has taken the position that there should be neither frankness nor accurate knowledge concerning it. There is scarcely anything else in human experience in which there has been throughout the ages such a tendency to deception and false consideration. The amount of absolute ignorance in reference to it would be astonishing were it not for the fact that the attitude of mystery and lack of frankness are products derived from the ancient idea that the manifestations of sex were one thing and that conduct reactions arising from it were quite something else. From this idea has arisen a system of social repression and social ignoring that is too deeply grounded in the traditions of the human race for any sudden change. What has been sufficiently demonstrated is that the adolescent, as far as his sexual life is concerned, grows up in an atmosphere of almost absolute ignorance and that the attitude of his surroundings is one of insincerity, prudery, and self-conscious discomfort. Such notions as he himself has been able to acquire are derived from sources as devoid of truth as is the attitude of society itself.

Into this realm of confused thought comes the absolute and unadorned fact of sex itself, the evidence of which is to the boy or girl one of the most prominent things in his life. There is the anatomical evidence and the functional or physiological proof that something different is taking place which is a part somehow of normal growth and at the same time is not to be mentioned or discussed. This phenomenon seems to stand apart and to be entirely different from other evidences of growth, such as increase in strength, weight, stature, etc. For the utilization of the increased power, as represented by growth, antisocial types of conduct seem naturally inhibited and very little social guidance is commonly to be expected. There exists a commonly shared body of experiences, tendencies, and customs which guide the adolescent in the proper use of his newly won powers outside and apart from his sexual acquisition. There is little evidence of conflict and little chance that he will have to be ruled from the outside or that any unusual powers of self-control need be exercised. Games, competitive sports, and organizations of the play instincts furnish him with ways of utilizing his growing physical power in devices that are physiologically useful and at the same time sufficiently interesting to meet the excessive energy that growth in this sense demands. On the other hand, for the exercise, direction, or utilization of sexual forces, which belong to the same category of growth, there are no such channels of escape and no way through which this type of energy can express itself. There is only the spirit of taboo, caution, mystery, and a half-hearted and semi-humorous, half-concealed sophistication that meets him wherever he turns. The usual result is that the adolescent turns to himself as the only source of knowledge and comfort on this subject and in that introverted attitude he makes what attempt he can to square and fit himself into the puzzle. The establishment of function and the anatomical evidence of maturity, if accompanied by the closing up of channels of expression, leads to an insistent demand for an outlet of some sort. The discovery of an outlet in line with the customs and traditions of society permitting the constructive utilization of the forces thus aroused is, in a nutshell, the whole sexual problem of the adolescent.

It is possible now to attempt some evaluation of the adolescent himself, to try to understand something of the activities that go on in his own mind, and to appreciate something of the turmoil, indecision, and general state of confusion resulting from his attempt at orientation and adaptation to the new forces of energy that have been liberated. In order to understand the adolescent in this matter it will be necessary to consider the genesis of sex and to approach somewhat closer to the actual state of things. It is essential also to remember that in many adolescents the existence or fact of sex remains simply a fact and that there is no trace of disturbance in the form of mental conflicts. In such instances there is no evidence that the adolescent is in the process of adjustment and the whole sexual evolution seems to go on without causing even a ripple of disturbance. This negative reaction on the other hand must be contrasted to the other type of adolescent in which sex exercises the most stormy influence, in some instances to such an extent that the borders of the abnormal are reached, while a small proportion of cases goes over into regions where pathological reactions are met with. There seems to be nothing in the life preceding this period from which to predict the adolescent's response and nothing in the environment stands out as a causative agent in stimulating the abnormal reaction. There is a primary individual response that characterizes one personality and is not met with in another. There is likewise a mingling of factors too mysterious and uncertain to be analyzed; factors that have to do with organic growth phenomena and individual responses to the changes in the organism taking place at that time. The formula characterizing one individual is not met with in another. There are all kinds of influences on the part of the nervous system in the matter of reflexes, correlation of distant organs, and the effect on other parts and physical structures that are not understood at the present time. There are chemical and physical accompaniments that cannot be possibly understood now, that are not even hinted at in the various researches being carried out on the influence of the glands having to do with growth and the maturing of the sexual organs. A closer study of the environmental influence can give no possible hint as to the kind of reaction that takes place and the most intimate study of the adolescent himself in his pre-adolescent state cannot possibly furnish data of importance. No other way of approaching this problem seems to be open except to study each adolescent as he presents himself and to collect data having to do with that single individual and not necessarily with another.

Inasmuch as the emphasis has been directed to the adolescent himself, as a distinct and definite personality, the inquiry becomes focused upon him as an individual. The study of a personality is something entirely different from a study of the qualities that go to make up that personality. In other words, there has been a steady current leading away from the abstract elements in the environment to that of the adolescent himself. This natural aspect of approaching a human problem suggests that there should be some method of study that has arisen out of the need for understanding the total human being rather than being satisfied with elaborate classifications of his component elements. The newer psychology has been so called because it aims to do just that, and all the devices that are suggested have the sole aim of subjecting the individual as a distinct person to analysis as contrasted to the elaboration of elements that might be supposed to make up that individual. This new psychology is so prevalent at the present moment that it may be said to permeate the environment almost in the same fashion that the more or less fixed organizations of older ideas do. It is apropos therefore at this place to attempt to sketch the most important of the newer psychologies, that is, the one associated with the name of its founder and leader, Freud. No controversial handling of this important contribution is contemplated. There is no place here for the usual impassioned argument for and against, which seems to fill so much of the literature on the subject. The only thing that is at issue here is the one query: Is there something in the Freudian psychology that may be of assistance in appreciating the sexual and other conflicts of the adolescent period and does it contain anything that may be of value in suggesting a better way of handling the problem in the future? At the start it must be admitted that the great and outstanding contribution of Freud in the study of sex is the lifting of the taboo that has held back for so long its proper and sustained study. Although the Freudian approach was in the beginning largely limited to the study of certain nervous diseases of which the causes were found in the abnormal manifestations of sex and although at first no deductions in regard to the phenomenon in normal individuals could be drawn, as the ideas associated with these studies became more definite a whole new conception was built out of the knowledge gained from the investigation of abnormal types. The Freudian psychology furnished in addition a method by which the mental activities ordinarily removed from direct contact or direct communication could be studied, and permitted a glimpse into that hidden field of personal experience which was assumed to lie beneath the level of personal consciousness and of which ordinarily the individual himself was in total or partial ignorance. To this level of material the term "subconscious" was given. It was supposed to contain among other things the individual's experience with sex, the ideas and notions associated with sex, and the wishes and strivings which were stimulated or activated by sex. Such things were not admissible to everyday scrutiny, because they were things which the individual did not or could not contemplate. In this way there was collected a mass of repressed, imagined, or actual experiences together with emotional reactions associated with them. In other words the feelings that were engendered were said to be present in some fashion or other, whether associated with the actual experiences as such or lying loosely, as it were, striving as emotions do in general for some pathway of release into actual forms of behavior or conduct. A large part of this material was not to be found in the actual everyday awareness of the individual possessing it and his everyday life was lived through without any thought that his daily life was being influenced in ways that would be incomprehensible without the key which the Freudian doctrine and understanding provides.

That such a stratum of consciousness existed is in itself not a new idea. Many investigators had long been aware that there was a background of experiences made up of all that the person had lived through, thought, and felt, and that these things were stored, so to speak, somewhere beneath the usual level of awareness. How this was organized, just what became of it, and how it was utilized were things only partially understood and largely neglected. Under the influence of hypnosis and other states of partial consciousness some of these things came to light, but often in so distorted a fashion that no resemblance to the original could be determined. Indeed, some of them presented themselves translated into types of activity which escaped entirely any kind of correlation with the past. Out of many strange kinds of abnormal conditions, such as paralysis, convulsive seizures, trancelike states, and others obviously not due to disease based upon structural changes in the tissues of the nervous system, neurologists and psychiatrist men such as Janet, and Morton Prince, found a definite relation with experiences of the past. They established the fact that many of these so-called symptoms were nothing more than a manner of reacting to the past, though under strange disguises. In, for example, many cases of hysteria the origins of some of the most baffling symptoms were traced back to experiences of early years associated with great emotional display, states of excitement and perturbation. The present symptoms were in a way gestures out of the past and were the evidences that the patient was reliving the past and getting rid of the emotion by transferring it to actual movements and muscular performances of one sort or another. To such states the name of "dissociation" was given, meaning by this that the actions presented to the world were performed without the awareness of the normal self and were the products of that part of the mind that was acting automatically. Such dissociated states were the object of numerous inquiries and investigations before the Freudian psychology was given to the world or even thought of. The only method of studying these conditions was that of hypnosis or artificially produced states of that kind. There was, even then, a widely held opinion that the results of an inquiry into conditions so manifestly abnormal were open to serious questions of doubt as to their authenticity and truth. It was known that in states of hypnosis, suggestibility was greatly if not abnormally increased and that the patient often reacted to the question of the manipulator rather than to the content of his own mind. In spite therefore of the many detailed studies that were made of the past lives of hypnotized subjects or of victims of functional nervous diseases who had been treated in this way no satisfactory explanation was reached to account for two of the most important items that always came to the fore in matters of this kind, one relating to mechanism and the other to cause, origin, or meaning.

It is to the credit of the Freudian school that it gave an answer to these two questions and many others connected with them. Whether the answer is reliable, valuable, or true remains at the present undecided and will await the verdict of the future when all the work that has been accumulated on this subject by the efforts of the Freudian adherents and critics have been subjected to unbiased evaluation. For the present purpose, however, the task is less that of final judgment than that of an appraisal of its immediate value in understanding the adolescent in his sexual conflict. The Freudian psychology developed in the first place a method of study that in many ways was vastly superior to the dubious one of hypnosis, free of its dangers and risks, and open to almost anyone who would train himself properly for its use. Then, too, it can be more generally applied. A certain percentage of individuals cannot be hypnotized and a larger proportion of sincere students cannot gain over their subjects the proper control to put them in that state. Any one on the other hand can be subjected to the method originated by Freud and his students and there is no danger and no mystery. Its technique can be acquired by study and does not depend upon an individual gift or talent. This method is called psychoanalysis. The second question answered by Freud relates to cause and origin. This is perhaps the most striking of all the contributions which this school has advanced. The dynamic power behind all these queer manifestations, and in fact behind activities that are not queer or unusual at all, is held to be sex. Thus there is furnished at one blow, as it were, a method of study and a source of energy, a reason, a means of approach, and a system of philosophy or way of thinking about human personality and behavior which in its systematized form may be called the Freudian psychology. It touches the adolescent problem through its insistence upon the universality of sex in all human activities, customs, traditions, taboos, and especially because in that period, bound up as it is with physiological stimulus to sex activities produced by the anatomical development of the sexual glands, the manifestations of sex, either in a Freudian or other sort of meaning, ought to furnish opportunities for study and understanding. No one to-day, therefore, can touch upon the question of adolescence without in fairness and thoroughness considering the Freudian psychology and attempting to look into some of the mysteries of the adolescent conflict from that point of view.

In addition to the contribution of method and origins which the Freudian school has furnished there are a number of other theories which ought to be considered, such as infant sexuality and the study of the quiescent period which follows, during which this impulse is hidden, forgotten, or suppressed and comes to light again as the conflict stage approaches. This theory offers a kind of continuity to the sexual impulses which make it unnecessary to assume a perfectly new set of tendencies arising out of the changes during and at the beginning of the adolescent period. The stream of sex, as it were, is not lost but turns into an underground current during the period between infancy and the appearance of sexual characteristics at puberty. In coming to the surface again, which is another way of saying that consciousness is reëstablished in reference to sex, the reactions are apt to be exaggerated and the consequences may be stormy. This establishes the groundwork for the conflict in the sense that the sudden and surprising awakening of sex brings the individual sharply against the environment, because these impulses are striving for some sort of expression along the lines of their physiological activities and society makes of them not only a forbidden thing, but establishes a barrier against their frank expressions. All of these strivings and the associated impulses, which may lose their sexual complexion altogether, have to be suppressed and diverted so that the mental turmoil that so often follows can in very few instances be interpreted from the standpoint of its origins. This is chiefly due to the fact that there is nothing apparently related to sex as such in the expression of these conflicts. The adolescent caught in the meshes of this network of mixed-up tendencies, impulses, and strivings acts in a way that not only puzzles himself but is a perpetual conundrum to those about him.

The Freudian conception of infant sexuality has been one of the storm centers about which have raged debates and discussions often acrimonious and emotional. It is a necessary stratum to much of the subsequently developed theory of adult sexuality, and is defended in this stubborn fashion because it occupies the key position in the whole sex psychological structure. Briefly, it holds that the infant comes into the world with and has to some extent even before birth the capacity to respond to stimulation in a manner that is distinctly sexual, particularly in certain sensitive zones such as the lips, the genital region, the anus, etc. The act of suckling, for example, awakens in the infant definite sex reactions in addition to the more primitively laid-down instinctive demands of hunger. The close relation between sex and hunger, between sex and organic demands of self-preservation is thus established. This permits of a definition of sex from the point of view of its universality and places sex in the same category as the impulse to live, and impulses associated with all the essential strivings directed to maintaining a balance in the pressure of environment. The importance of the idea of infant sexuality lies in the logical consequences of establishing in the mind of the infant some object favorable to the impulses which are aroused through the stimulus. This object value lies in the first instance in the personalization of the mother to the male and that of the father to the female. This forms the beginning of the various groups of complexes so accentuated in almost all the Freudian literature—the Œdipus complex, the Narcissus complex, etc. These need no further explanation in this place. The incestuous love of a son for his mother and the daughter for the father as well as the love of one's self give in brief outline the formulations of these ideas as far as the future conflicts based upon the premises are concerned.

The final consideration of the Freudian psychology as it concerns itself with the adolescent must touch several other interpretative efforts. The study and meaning of dreams and the symbolic language of dreams are utilized by means of technical methods too complex to be described here in order to establish the fundamental truth of conflict processes and become the test of the theories, some of which have already been set forth. To the Freudian this kind of testimony is irresistible and offers for him conclusive evidence of the mechanisms discussed. The method, according to him, is sufficiently objective and free from errors to give the validity of scientific evidence.

The question now is: In what way does this conception of sex help in the understanding of the conflict process in adolescence? In what way can this enigma be clarified if the Freudian ideas are blindly followed and if adolescence is regarded as a pure and simple sex question and nothing else? Unfortunately for the socially minded investigator the fact of sex is not sufficiently inclusive to interpret the adolescent in many of his most important reactions, and certainly from the point of view of this book with its emphasis on environment such an aspect is entirely too limited and its outlook much too narrow. Into the adolescent personality there crowds from the external world a steadily increasing procession of facts, experiences, contacts, ideas, dream figures, and sections of reality which bear no possible sex coloring and have not the faintest suggestion pertaining to it. The adolescent must not only take care of all this, but in some way he must arrange this material so that he can live with it and get some kind of joy out of it. In preceding chapters some notion of the kind of material that composes this intrusion of reality into his own life has been noted and it must be by now evident that only a minor percentage is of the nature of sex. If it were possible to extend the meaning and interpretation of sex so that it would include almost all of human experience then it would be possible to regard the adolescent period as essentially a time of sex adjustment. There is, however, always danger in pressing any idea beyond its logical and inherent implication for the purpose of meeting a larger artificial obligation. This is true of the attempt to give to the word sex something that it does not normally possess and to stress its elasticity of meaning rather than its deep significance. In some of the recent Freudian literature the attempt is made to suggest that sex is a sort of vital impulse, something that strikes back to the idea of a source and energy of life. In such a fashion the word has been extended so that it can imply almost any factor in human life having the aspect of power and dynamic urge. Life in this sense could be defined as sex and everything that happened could be so explained and so interpreted. It is obvious that the adolescent cannot be held between the forceps of such a definition, and that if he could, nothing would be gained from the standpoint of conflict. Sex in its more narrow and its more exact meaning is sufficient to furnish all the explanations that are essential if care is taken to see in it something that is biologically evident and important, because it is inherent in all living things. In this way sex can take its place along with the other phenomena of life and be studied as they are. It is of no consequence at all to regard adolescence from the Freudian or non-Freudian point of view, or to consider whether this or that part of analytical psychology can be used to understand it. Freud and his school have made it possible to look at the adolescent from a sex point of view and the conclusion has been reached that it does not satisfy the spirit of inquiry. In doing so, however, much has been revealed of the greatest importance. To test out a theory frankly and in a practical manner always gives an increase of information of the subject tested even if the method used has been given up. Something like this has happened in the attempt to interpret the adolescent period from the sexual psychology of the Freudian school. Much has been learned and more insight has been gained than has hitherto been possible, but the deduction is not admissible that sex is the sole factor in the adolescent period to the exclusion of all other. Further, it is evident that if the whole of adolescence is viewed simply as a phenomenon of sex much that is of vital significance in his social structure will be missed or wrongly interpreted.

It might be well at this point to emphasize again that the adolescent problem is essentially social and that the deepest insight into the adolescent mind is derived if this is steadily kept in mind. He should always be regarded as a member of a highly complex and not very well understood social organization. In almost all discussions of the adolescent and his problem the inquiry is directed towards an appreciation of the energizing factor that lies back of the various changes initiated at this time. What is it that makes adolescence, and what factor is there found that should give to the growing individual just at that period a series of impulses which cause so often so profound an alteration in both his physical and his mental make-up? Why is it that attention is directed to him at that time more than in any other period? These are pertinent inquiries meriting serious consideration. Sexual development belongs to the adolescent period and by this fact separates it from all others. What is more natural than to seize upon this fact and to use it to the exclusion of all other factors in an effort at explanation? A much more understandable solution of this question is to regard the awakening of the sexual function in the same way as any other newly established activity. It is particularly apropos in the case of the adolescent because the establishment of function is associated with anatomical changes in structure and the initiation of new physiological activities. The necessity of seeing some direct connection between these two facts is so obvious that it must be frankly admitted. It is here that the Freudian conception of infantile sexuality might help to clarify the situation if that idea should be capable of a somewhat different meaning than was originally applied to it. The point is that sex, whatever significance be given to that term, is not a new or necessarily a novel happening to the adolescent. Whatever may be thought of the idea of Freudian sexuality in its most exaggerated sense the fact is evident that some manifestation of sex is part and parcel of almost any stage of human growth and development. The submergence of sexual impulse and its partial dying out in the period between infancy and the beginning of adolescence is an observation of consequence, particularly because it supports the idea that when adolescence is established it is neither a new or unexpected experience. There is no evidence in support of the theory that adolescent notions of sex are necessarily any more mature or well established than in the preceding periods and the fact that there is no necessary parallelism between maturity of sex ideas and maturity of sexual organs has been pointed out a number of times. The stream of sexual ideas and the reactions incident to them are continuous and varied. They show no tendency to obey laws of development or any other conceivable outside influence. They take part in the natural process of growth and are influenced by the factors which are therein concerned. What these laws are and what they mean are matters beyond understanding at the present time. That the sexual stream is sluggish in one individual and not so in another is a fact. What it means and how it happens are things to speculate about. Nothing definite is known, nor do the efforts to associate these things with the glandular system, and particularly those glands directly concerned with reproduction, have any scientific basis. There remains, then, this fact, that if a source of the dynamics of adolescence is sought it must be found in the adolescent as a whole and not in any particular part of his structure or make-up. The dynamics of a conflict lies in the conflict itself and no searching for external influences will avail much if this fact is ignored. Adolescence comes about not because at this time there is evidence of sexual maturity and functional reactivation of hitherto dormant glands of one kind or another, but because at this stage of the individual's growth, varying with each one, there is massed up sufficient experience to force a recognition of the fact that an environmental adjustment is at hand, and the conflict is thereupon initiated. Sex happens to be one of the environment factors and that is all.

CHAPTER XIV

MUSCULAR CONTROL

THE environmental characteristics of the adolescent have been described and the attempt has been made to analyze these as they appear in his daily life. As these same things confront every one it may seem forced to stress their adolescent peculiarities. This comment has weight, if too rigid a distinction between adolescence and maturity is insisted upon. The fact that adolescence passes so easily into the period which follows permits freedom of discussion as to the prevailing elements in either, for the environment is essentially the same for every one, the difference lying simply in the point of view and in the quality and variety of the reactions. It is, of course, impossible to make a complete analysis of the environment. Such an attempt would imply finer and finer subdivisions until the task would resolve itself into a definitive exposition of society, which is far beyond the scope, limits, and possibilities of this inquiry. The environment in its essential elements as an adolescent framework is all that can be profitably studied. The incompleteness of such a study is freely admitted. It is necessary in addition to attempt some sort of description of the adolescent as a configuration of behavior and conduct and to try to understand him as a living organism in a series of reactions to the world in which he lives. In a sense it is possible to use the environmental analysis as a medium of interpretation. A degree of sharpness may thus be obtained for the adolescent outline. It is, after all, the overt conduct of the adolescent that is important in this regard and not so much the things that happen inside of himself. They are not facts of observation. Conduct *is;* therefore a description is possible and an interpretation can be attempted if it be kept in mind that there is a limit beyond which conjecture and truth are so mingled that positive conclusions are extremely uncertain.

The conduct of the adolescent is a product, and not an accidental one, of many factors representing the influence of the environment and the content of the mind plus instinctive and reflex actions which are of physiological origin. Out of these things the adolescent develops a series of adjustments which are translations and substitutions into muscular types of activity, called conduct or behavior, though the two terms are not necessarily synonymous. Leaving aside for the moment any attempt to differentiate these two terms, attention is directed to the point of chief interest which is what the adolescent does, and why and how he does it. The make-up of his personality, his uniqueness, flavor, and atmosphere, are also important. There must be something characteristic about all this, because the very term adolescence brings to the mind certain general peculiarities, certain definite connotations just as the words maturity, childhood, infancy, or old age do. When these words are mentioned, a picture is immediately presented composed of the multitude of observations which make up the eventual symbol or abstraction. Of all the terms used to describe or define certain periods or episodes in life, that of adolescence seems to have the most exact meaning and the picture suggested seems to be far and away the most definite and crystallized. For some reason or other adolescence has a more intense and a more generalized quality of personal experience than any of the others. There is something here that suggests that of all the periodic adjustments that are essential to the maturing individual that of the adolescent period represents the most emotionally tinctured, and for that reason the most clearly outlined picture. It probably represents the first important personality variation induced by the sudden piling up of environmental necessities and the one, too, that proceeds without adequate physical or mental preparation. It represents also the earliest conflict process, in which the mechanism of adjustment becomes partially conscious and not automatic as is more usual in the preceding and succeeding periods. There is an acute element in the whole of the adolescent picture, an almost emergency quality that sets it apart from anything that has gone before or that happens afterwards. The picture is sharply etched and the varying figure of the adolescent stands out, presenting a descriptive opportunity which is especially intriguing. Perhaps it is this that has stimulated so many writers to attempt its delineation but the very attractiveness of the subject is an explanation of the many failures. That a completely living picture of the adolescent will not come out of the attempt that is made here is certain, but that something may be learned of the adolescent as he shows himself to the world is possible.

There are certain physical characteristics of the adolescent which are so bound up with types of conduct that they warrant description for the reason that conduct cannot be understood apart from the movement element involved. Conduct is a picture presented to the observer of an individual adapting himself to varying elements in his immediate environment. The observer has only the usual sensory channels through which this picture is perceived, that is, he can see, hear, touch, etc. He therefore becomes aware of what is happening as it concerns that particular object and he also if he chooses can become aware of the various factors in the environment which modify, guide, or compel a particular set of reflexes, resulting in a particular type of conduct. One factor remains hidden, however, and cannot be observed; this consists of a series of compelling stimuli shut up in the consciousness of the one under observation. The type of conduct may be complex or simple or any combination between these extremes. Any form of conduct could be explained if all the facts were known, especially if all of the content of the mind at the particular time and in relation to the particular piece of activity were clearly defined. It is of no importance whether the impetus governing action is massed in the knowable levels of the mind or not, nor is it of consequence whether or not the stimuli of conduct belong to the reflex or automatic level. If all of these variants were known and if they could be properly integrated, then conduct could be adequately understood, described, and explained. It can be seen how intricate a simple piece of conduct is and how impossible it often is to understand even a very usual, conventional bit, even if a good many of the causative factors are known. The intention is simply to observe the adolescent as he acts in the presence of what has been regarded as the environment in which his actions happen. The finer differentiation between conduct and behavior is purposely passed over.

If a simple lot of reactions of the adolescent are studied first of all from the mechanics of the muscular system, a characteristic group of movements are seen that can best be described as clumsy and awkward. These qualities are important not because they present a rather typical picture of the adolescent in movement and posture but because they may and do often have a direct effect upon the adolescent in another way. Muscular reactions of themselves are of no great importance but certain mental states and mental responses often associated with them are. These often influence emotion in ways that are difficult to interpret. This is due to the fact that movement and mental conduct are more closely associated than would appear on the surface. Quickness, accuracy, and coördination in the muscular system have a direct influence on the whole of the individual and the reverse qualities produce an effect also. There result in many instances attempts to compensate in some way for the lack of muscle control so that curious and wholly incomprehensible mental reactions follow. These often produce emotional states that tend to drive the adolescent away from the world of reality into that part of himself in which clumsiness and awkwardness are unknown. There is no lack of appreciation on the part of the adolescent of the unattractiveness of this external aspect of himself, not only because it is a constant source of comment but also because he becomes aware of the futility of his actions through evidence of his own. The reason for the muscular insecurity of the adolescent depends upon two sorts of things, one physical and one social, the relative importance of which cannot be established. As a rule, as has been described, there is in the period of adolescence a sudden increase in bodily weight, metabolic activity, and gross muscular strength. The nervous system, under the control and direction of which the whole of the muscular system operates, has, so to speak, not yet learned the adequate and proper system of controls to handle efficiently the increased load which it is called upon to direct. Movements are therefore clumsy, overextended, and in some instances uncoördinated. The increase in strength causes often the simplest movements to be massed without control or inhibition. Conscious effort to direct or modify movement after it has once started results in awkward and jerky muscular breaks which produce the effect of clumsiness and crudeness. The nice and rhythmic flow of muscular power so characteristic of proper adjustment and training in the more mature muscular mechanism is lacking. As a result, the adolescent is apt to be noisy in his movements, clumsy in the performance of simple tasks, likely to drop things, bump into things, and disturb the orderly arrangement of a household.

This is particularly true if he is under observation and more evident if this observation includes critical comment. In the presence of strangers or if he is called upon to do anything in a strange place with unknown witnesses about, the movements gain in awkwardness and the performance is often ridiculously crude. Social maneuvers of all kinds are so difficult and in many instances so nearly impossible that the adolescent rather than attempt them refuses even to try. To avoid embarrassment he retires before situations which bring this on and cultivates shyness because it forms a screen of protection that he cannot well do without. He becomes in fact an expert in all kinds of negative conduct, that is, not to do is for him a refuge, especially in the face of socially necessary types of activity, such as greeting people, introducing them, meeting and talking to them. This has reference not alone to strangers but to those he knows more intimately; especially to those who have superficially a quality of intimacy, relatives, friends of the family, teachers, and companions belonging to groups with more or less common interest. The difficulty of intimate social-conduct adjustment seems at times to be due to the mechanics of the muscular system alone. This might be true if it were not for the fact that under other conditions this system seems to function very well, almost perfectly. If the adolescent, whose actions under the formal conditions of social intercourse are clumsy, is watched when he is at play, a surprising difference may often be noted. In games requiring the most delicate coördination and the most efficient use of gross muscular power, where muscular control and direction are essential, the adolescent may show surprising skill. In nonsocial types of muscular activity the characteristic clumsiness does not appear.

The reason for this difference lies in the intrusion of something which checks the automatic accuracy of muscular movements and interferes with its freedom. This intrusive element is self-consciousness. The outlet of muscular activity in games provides such a detachment from the mere fact of movement itself to the goal and to the end result that there is little time or opportunity for attention to be directed to the performance itself. The emotions involved, that of interest, excitement, pleasure, etc., serve further to distract attention, so the necessary check and control of muscular power occur automatically and the result is achieved as a part of the dynamics inherent in the mechanism of muscular balance. The contrast just mentioned is important because it emphasizes the fact that the adolescent is marked by just that development of consciousness of self so pervasive that it can be traced in almost all of his activities. Its absence in sports and games merely emphasizes its social derivation and its environmental spread. It is therefore clear that the conduct of the adolescent in his muscular aspect is caused by two sets of conditions, one growing out of the delayed synchronous adjustment of the nervous system in its control over muscular movement, and the other caused by the intrusion of self-consciousness of purely social derivation into the delicate scheme of adjustment between nervous and muscular system.

There is another phase of this question which has to do with the adolescent's curious lack of appreciation of the differences in value between the two kinds of activity, the social and the play type. He will strive to perfect himself in games and finally attain considerable proficiency while to social activities he is apt to maintain complete indifference. This is a simple and seemingly trivial fact of observation. It is often from the apparently trivial that something illuminating may be obtained, something that serves to explain conduct peculiarities and to permit of some generalizations as to the total problem. Out of very simple elements human personality is built up and in the formative period of personality-building, simple things have an unexpected value. The fact that there is this difference between the two sorts of activity from the point of view of the acquisition of proficiency is not of itself surprising, but the intrusion of self-consciousness into the one and not into the other is more vital. Certainly if adolescence is viewed as a period in which social adjustment is becoming a conscious process, then all actions are important in which this mechanism is demonstrated. The understanding of the adolescent rests upon the sympathetic appreciation of his difficulties, which is another way of saying that to understand any human being his conflicts and the obstructive forces playing about him must be known. If the awkward and clumsy maneuvers of the adolescent in social activities of all sorts are interpreted simply as a result of the intrusion of a conscious appreciation and with that a fear of social contacts, a dread of the necessity of making an adequate adjustment, then an understanding of him as a social figure may be obtained and a better way of handling the problem may be found. Too often the awkwardness of the adolescent's movements has been compared to those of any young growing animal and the similarity in appearance has sufficed as an explanation. The analogy is neither true nor useful, because there is wanting in the case of the animal just that factor of mental interpretation that is the essential difference between the two. There is reason for believing that consciousness of self, if not originating in the muscular maneuvers of the adolescent period, receives there an amount of intensification that makes for the future crystallization of the essential and definite figure with whom he will always live.

It may seem strange to account for so intricate a thing as knowledge of one's self, as a self, through the interpretation of muscular movements, but such a theory has sound psychological basis. It is impossible to separate the functions of an organism, disconnecting them from one another. The muscular and the nervous systems are so intimately related that no one can say when the one functions and the other does not. With the nervous system linked in this chain it is but a step to the inclusion of the mind, which is to be thought of simply as the nervous system as a whole in action. Thus from a simple muscular movement consciousness is invoked and intimately joined, making a complete and inclusive system. At almost any place in this integrated system a break is possible by means of which awareness is blocked and the resulting muscular performance stands as just that and nothing more, but if connection is maintained intact, then the whole of the individual, so to speak, shares in the process and its awareness; therefore, knowledge of the meaning of the complete procedure automatically follows. In this sense, then, there is provided a mechanism by which the quality of movement is influenced and often misdirected through the intrusion of self-consciousness. The explanation of the meaning of the awkwardness and clumsiness of movement that so often characterizes the socially conducted muscular reactions of the adolescent broadens the interest that attaches to phenomena which often on the surface seem to be trivial and accidental, and too often are wrongly interpreted on the score of overgrowth and rapid physical development.

There is another aspect of the conduct phenomena of the adolescent from the muscular system point of view; this is the tendency to move about, change position, and often to assume uncomfortable attitudes and postures. This is in contrast to immobilized states in which for long periods of time there is no change in position. In such states the adolescent appears relaxed, inattentive, and very nearly reactionless to any kind of environmental stimuli. These two contrasting states, restlessness and immobility, are so common that they are often described as adolescent peculiarities. They frequently become the subjects of comment and criticism, under such terms as nervousness and laziness. Medical aid is sometimes invoked as if they were symptoms of illness. Of course they are neither willful nor pathological, if by the former is meant something that is voluntary and purposive. On the other hand, although they have no abnormal implication whatever, in some rare instances their exaggeration may be the initial stages of a pathological side of adolescence with which this book has little to do. These immobile conduct states are of the same class as are the qualitative aspects of general movements that have just been described. Their explanation is not so simple. There is a mixture of physical and mental causes which are difficult to separate out and this difficulty, as has been pointed out, pertains to almost everything that concerns the adolescent as a living mechanism. There is a physiological restlessness that is inherent in all living things, an urge to use the muscular system in its primary and essential quality, that of movement. Change and shifting position result. This change in position refers to the total organism and not to movements of single muscles or muscle groups which are to be regarded as simple variants, immature and incomplete reactions of the same sort.

The human body, or for the matter of that, all living things are in a constant state of mobility of one kind or another. This is inherent in the very fact of living. The muscular system would degenerate and become devitalized if it remained in one position for any great length of time. So there is a normal amount of movement in all living things and the human organism shares in this common quality. This may be called physiological and normal. It is altered for many reasons, some apparent and some hidden. The immobility or the excessive movements of the adolescent beyond what is normal need explaining, for objective characteristics are without interpretative value unless they can be associated with the total activity of the organism. Apart from the normal tendency to movement inherent in the muscular system, as such, and that degree or amount which represents actual physiological and chemical needs, there is a broad territory of activity which merits exploration. The chief purpose back of movement in which the total organism is concerned is to carry out primitive needs. These have to do with primitive and instinctive demands, such as hunger, flight, concealment, attack, and the carrying out of the instincts under the general group of mating. Given the capacity to successfully accomplish these primary things, a simple and primitive organism can continue existence indefinitely until the natural limits of physical structure are reached.

These primitive needs demand above everything else that the organism be able to change position quickly, promptly, and effectively. For this reason the neuromuscular mechanism of all highly developed organisms is adapted to meet sudden and unexpected as well as usual contingencies. The responses are almost instantaneous reflexes. The essential quality of movements of this kind all through the animal series is automaticity, that is, a series of movements upon which the safety of the organism depends must spring into activity almost as quickly as the contingency requiring them arises. There is little time for choice or plan and none at all for what may be called thinking. Movements or maneuvers of the muscular system are governed and set into action by the primitive nervous quality necessary for the survival of the animal. As the organism develops upward in the evolutionary scale, new kinds of activities come to be grafted on to the primitive system, functions which are necessary on account of the increasing complexity of the environment. A more and more intricate series of conduct reactions is necessary if the organism is to survive. With the development of the brain and especially of that part known as the cortex there come into existence activities which belong only to the highest form of living things —man included. Such functions include choice, discrimination, selection, and memory. Along with these a new form of cerebral activity is of necessity developed, the capacity to prevent or inhibit and to some extent to modify the natural reflex or automatic types of conduct that have been described. Certain forms of actions require adjustment to special and peculiar environmental demands. In order to direct them effectively some must be stopped altogether, repressed from activity or entirely changed. With this new form of control, conduct is directed to the demand or emergency in an immediate way with no loss of effort and no confusion of purpose. This quality of inhibition, which is a direct outgrowth of the primitive ability in a living structure to move as well as not to move, becomes in the more highly developed being and in man, associated with awareness, although there is not a complete loss of the capacity to act automatically and unconsciously. It is necessary to accentuate the statement that beneath all the activities of a human being there is this substratum of animal organization in which primitive instinct, feelings, demands, and occurrences are met by types of activity similar to those found in creatures much less highly developed.

It is now possible to trace in the adolescent the origins and mechanism of restlessness and immobility, two qualities that furnish a definite and characteristic bit of conduct which is so frequently emphasized. In the presence of environmental demands for which a type of conduct is necessary, for which experience is lacking, or which may be distasteful, or in which fear, doubt, or apprehension is aroused, repression of a motor type takes place and a state of immobility results. Associated with the state of muscular immobility there are the facial expression and other general characteristics of a living being at rest. The indifference, the lack of interest, and the responselessness to outside stimuli are similar to those of the animal organism in like situations. A kind of temporary hibernation seems to take place, or a sort of dream state in which there is a continuous dulling of the special senses to usual stimuli. If this should continue for a sufficient length of time, the adolescent, like his animal ancestor, falls asleep. In fact this often happens, or something so nearly like it that the word laziness seems an adequate description. A similar explanation is warranted for the states of restlessness and continued and apparently purposeless movements. In the presence of the disagreeable, the dangerous, and the unexpected, the opposite of immobility is seen. In place of the immobile state there are a series of movements without apparent aim or plan because there is no preformed pattern of action exactly fitting the situation. If there is an emotional element injected into the situation, such as fear of apprehension, then the automatic control of purposeful action is destroyed or lessened and the organism rids itself of the excess of emotion through the muscular system, eventually reaching some kind of positively directed motor maneuver. This is the substratum of the apparently useless and purposeless movements of the adolescent. The degree of emotion that is excited in the necessary social adjustments of everyday conduct is minimal and should not be compared with the access of fear that arises in the animal organism in face of the unexpected and unusual. It is, however, of the same category, though quantitatively the two cannot be compared. The adolescent shows many mental reactions that are of course unknown in the world of less complex cerebral development. Situations of a social kind confront the adolescent which are merely distasteful, disagreeable, and boring and nothing more, but the essential muscular reaction is pretty much the same. In the case of the adolescent in contrast to the more mature individual there is wanting that finer inhibiting impulse developed by social experience which is an important contribution made by organized society to its members. Conduct of a disturbing kind, a product of muscular activity, is prevented, because experience and custom have shown its uselessness and its lack of benefit. That type of conduct then is reserved for unusual situations in which emotion is stimulated so far beyond the customary that all the traditional control is lost and movements of all sorts, kinds, and degrees take place without reference to their selective value. Here again it is simply the question of degree and not of kind. In both situations the adolescent and the mature individual act alike and the two can be compared if the difference in the nature of the contrasting social situations be remembered. The conduct is so much alike that it would be well if, in attempting parental or other control in times of unusual transgressions of social amenities, similar experience of one's own be thought of. In using analogy to explain things it is of course well to remember that this form of reasoning demands caution and an appreciation of its inherent weakness. With such a limitation in mind much of the conduct of the adolescent can be understood, or at least a more sympathetic understanding of his curious reactions in social situations may be secured.

There is always the risk in describing or interpreting conduct of fitting a theory to the situation and forcing the issue by explaining a simple thing by too intricate a scheme. Theories relating to the growth and development of the human being from his animal ancestry are easy to formulate, but almost impossible to prove. The analogy between the conduct of adolescents and that of the ancestral type seems so clear that conclusions are forced without design or intention. The very completeness of the similarity is its weakness and conclusions must be subjected to the closest scrutiny. It is just as easy on the other hand to regard the conduct of the adolescent as a matter of chance and the quality of muscular activity as due to growth and a too rapid development. This of course is the conventional explanation. The defect of this laissez-faire attitude is that it gives no plan or even suggestion of a method of handling the situation confronting the parent or teacher, nor does it open the way for any sort of appreciation of the problem in its social aspect. Therefore an explanation that offers a way out is to be preferred to one that simply states a negative theory and leaves a problem that has many a disturbing feature without the chance for constructive solution. There is at the present time a marked tendency in the study of human conduct to seek for information in all living types and to supplement the data thus obtained by animal experiments. The behavioristic school of psychology has shown the way to this end and this attempt to explain the adolescent on the motor side of his social conduct should be in harmony at least with its attitude and spirit if not availing itself of its experimental method.

CHAPTER XV

CONDUCT AND SEX

IDEAS of sex and conduct arising from them are not met with in the adolescent as new or novel things. Sexual experiences of one kind or another are found at all ages up to and including the adolescent. These things vary according to conditions of living, social levels, companionship, environmental conditions of all kinds, and what might be called innate sex stimulus itself. Sex may be an intangible, indefinite, and wholly theoretical affair for one and for another be as concrete and real as any other fact in life. In one case conduct may be clearly related to sex as such and in another identical conduct may have nothing whatever to do with sex. Curiosity may be the dominating influence in producing sex types of conduct in one and fear in another. Accident and propinquity may explain conduct in one individual, design and planning in another; imitation from companions in one case, instinctive individual action in another. To lump all types of similar conduct under one head and interpret them as of the same category is obviously so rigid and inelastic that no gain in understanding can be hoped for. The only thing such an attitude accomplishes is to establish a series of dogmatic statements which may give the impression of truth, but are far from it. Far better is it to study the conduct of the adolescent in the light of sex experience as that experience justifies such a characterization, and to leave out of consideration doubtful types of conduct which may possibly, by intricate and not altogether proved methods of investigation, be brought under that heading. That the average adolescent regards the opposite sex in a different way than he did at an early age is a truism. That his conduct as a result of this newer attitude undergoes a change is a matter of constant observation. The factors concerned in this sudden or gradual change are of importance. How much of this is due to growth, development, and influences of a social kind and how much is pure sex instinct and impulse, are interesting questions. The physical fact of sex and sex differentiation may be unaccompanied by any definite sex impulse, or at least the impulse is not sufficient to produce conduct effects in the line of a specific stimulus. The stimulus of incitement may be too vague and too general to influence conduct appreciably. In fact the chief result may be altogether along different lines of activity than sex acts or their substitutes. Together with the development of the sex organs themselves and the set-up of glandular activities, are associated bodily changes which may or may not have a relation to the reproductive system. There are many changes in the nervous system for which the sex stimulus may act not directly, but in a general dynamic manner, something that increases activity in a general but not in a special way. The result of this is that a stimulus that is at first sexual may have the most far-reaching result in phenomena that have not the least resemblance in any way to the origin of the inciting impulse. It is necessary to stress this point so that conduct may be looked at as an expression of every individual in respect to the whole of his environment rather than as a specific result of only one of his many sources of stimulation. The adolescent as a social unit rather than as a system of physiologically connected units is a more impressive and interesting figure.

What is the average adolescent's response to the fact of sex as such? Such a question stimulates all sorts of inquiry. There are also all sorts of variations in the adolescent himself. No general response is possible, or if there were, it would represent the viewpoint of the questioner rather than the answer of the adolescent. Facts relating to sex are gathered together long before the actual presence of sex manifests itself. The reaction of the individual bears a constant relation to his previous knowledge or experience. A good deal of the information is probably wrong and a good deal of what is fairly accurate is too frequently misinterpreted. The phenomena of reproduction are only vaguely associated with the presence of sexual maturity in the beginning and are not markedly personalized. The direct social significance is therefore not manifest and conduct is but vaguely influenced. Sex stands out much more as an anatomical fact, menstruation in girls, and in boys the phenomena of erection and emission. These activities of a strictly material order are associated with the evidence of anatomical growth and the secondary sexual manifestations, such as growth of hair, voice changes and, in the case of the girl, mammary development. These are the evident things of sex, and it is to these and the interest they arouse, that the attention of the average adolescent is attracted. If these things are matters of course, and if their appearance has in some way been prepared for, and wrong and ridiculous notions in regard to them have been counteracted by accurate and frank information, there is little effort needed and no trouble in the process of adaptation. That this is seldom the case is a commonplace. A good deal of the recessive conduct of the adolescent has been attributed to the interest which the phenomena that have just been described produce. The fact that he cannot or does not want to talk to his elders about these things from fear of ridicule or from some other source of taboo, and the consequent retiring into himself, make it appear as if he were disconnected from environmental contact. If the content of consciousness were freely open to observation it would be found that concern with sex would be only one of the many items there, and not the sole one. The sexual daydreaming of the adolescent is a much rarer phenomenon than is commonly supposed. It certainly cannot be regarded as a significant cause for the detached and apathetic state which the adolescent so often presents. Concerning the interest that the adolescent develops in regard to sex itself as it is manifested in his own person there is a great variety of different reactions which depend largely upon elements inherent in his own personality. It is the total individual that responds to a stimulus as complex as sex and there are implicated many associated trains of action. It is an impossible task to separate those due to sex stimulus alone from those in which associated elements are involved. One aspect of the whole matter deserves mention as upon it a good deal of the conduct manifestations may be based. This has to do with the increased curiosity and concern directed to the fact of sex itself as it manifests itself automatically. That this curiosity is a primary impulse can scarcely be doubted. That a certain element of secrecy creeps in is clearly evident. That the contemplation of and the concentration upon the sexual items in the physical make-up of the body are manifestations of sex is beyond controversy. In what way does this natural manifestation of curiosity show itself in conduct and in what way does it alter conduct? Is there enough difference between curiosity in regard to sex matters during adolescence and the same or similar things in the period before adolescence to require description and comment? It would be strange if the more complex situation in the adolescent as compared to that of the pre-adolescent did not produce differences of one kind or another. In the adolescent there exist in association with curiosity additional factors which exert such an added influence that the contemplation of self, based upon the material ground of sex alterations, influences conduct in a profound manner. This is so much the case in certain instances that the adolescent becomes concerned with his own body to the exclusion of many external interests. This Narcissus-like attitude, to make use of a term in a sense not altogether Freudian, leads directly to a series of extreme conduct anomalies for which no environmental factor is responsible. The adolescent responds to things that arise out of himself rather than to the things with which he is in touch. This is an old and convenient mechanism for him, the necessity of resorting to it may be of a different kind, but the old pattern is there at his disposal when necessary. There is little difference, as far as the external aspect of the adolescent is concerned, in the retirement into himself resulting from interest and concern in things that have been designated as sex, and in the retirement from any other conflict of a social sort in which sex has no part. The resulting conduct appears to be the same no matter what the stimulus or inciting factor may be. Sexual phantasy and other types of imaginative activities produce the same kind of appearance and similar types and kinds of conduct. It is difficult in a given case to determine the source from which the impulse to retirement may have arisen. In many instances there is no information level that may be tapped, as the mental content is too mixed up even for the adolescent himself to give reliable information. To him there seems nothing sharply cut or definitely outlined. The suggestive power of hints to this or that source must be carefully guarded against. What is asked is often answered in whatever way seems most likely to dispose of the question. At other times the question touches upon some associative phase of mental content or some associative experience and the answer given is influenced. Sexual phantasy of itself is not abnormal, nor is it in any way a monopoly of adolescence. A mechanism to that end is furnished to almost every human mind and the richness and variety of content as well as the emotional stratum are individual matters differing most widely. The responsiveness depends largely on the vividness of experience, or perhaps in the emotional element which experience arouses, and perhaps too in the richness of the associative experience itself. The importance of sex in the stimulation of phantasy in the case of the adolescent lies chiefly in the fact that the stimulus is seldom followed by adequate conduct response in the line of the invoked stimulus because actual experience is wanting. This is a very general statement and its application is not strictly limited to the adolescent. It furnishes, nevertheless, a fairly accurate formula that differentiates the sexual phantasy of the adult from that of the adolescent, producing in the former a rather extreme type of imaginative conduct response as contrasted to that of the more mature individual. The adolescent has a much narrower scope in which to translate these impulses into types of action that are direct, purposive, and logical effects of the impulses aroused by the stimuli. The adolescent finds that retirement and shutting himself in furnish the easiest and the most direct means of escape when the conflict seems otherwise too difficult to face. A means of escape through daily preoccupations of business, and of economic existence which is always present for the adult, is seldom at hand, or at least not present in a definite shape during adolescence. To this analysis must be added the factor of pleasure in the contemplation of sexual matters and the urge towards retirement into self as not only the necessary thing to do, but also the desirable and for the moment at least the pleasantest thing to do. Daydreaming or phantasy formation has not simply an escape purpose, that is, an escape from the disagreeable or the unpleasant, but is also the refuge from boredom, lack of interest, and other socially unprofitable states. More than this, it furnishes a distinct pleasure in itself irrespective of any environmental happenings. The sexual phantasies of the adolescent are in this sense a positive device cultivated not out of necessity only but often for its own sake, and in many instances it has no relation to conflicts of any kind.

The amount of preoccupation in regard to sexual matters, their kind and variety, are matters at most of speculation. The individual inquirer is apt to look back upon his own adolescence and there find some standard and measure of these things. Variations in individual reactions probably account for the different opinions in the literature on these and similar questions. Group studies on classified adolescents, questionnaires, and other devices are open to the objections which are usually attached to that form of investigation. These objections are in the main that deductions of a general sort are made from data obtained from selected groups, that the information obtained cannot be proven, and the deductions are not open to experimental control. The sources of information and the method of obtaining it are further open to the criticism that there is no means of checking the accuracy of the information obtained. Conclusions should, therefore, be regarded purely as approximations of the truth. The method pursued in this book has been the gradual acquisition of information through many analyses of adolescents of various social strata, and the correction of such data by the information derived from abnormal types of adolescents. Such uninhibited individuals often give surprisingly accurate accounts of the mechanisms of mental states, especially of phantasy formation. This sort of knowledge must of course be controlled by comparison with the normal, but the mechanisms are essentially the same. The only similarity, perhaps, in the two sorts of data which are here being discussed lies in the skepticism which is attached to either kind of investigation. Wholesale deductions are to be avoided. If there happen to spring out of the study some vague notions as to the state of mind of the adolescent engaged in mentally digesting sex questions, and if some hint as to the mechanism of escape from them is obtained, we must be satisfied, for with our present methods of investigation no more can be hoped for. It seems to be sufficiently accurate to say that sex is among the more usual of the preoccupations of the adolescent and that among the conduct modifiers sex has a place. It is an error, however, to make of sex the sole and most important of all the conflict sources in the adolescent. It is of equal importance to recognize that sex seldom acts alone, and that among the sources that seem on the surface to be typical, sex is only one of several exciting elements. Phantasy, therefore, dealing with sexual subjects, or in which sex plays a predominant rôle, results in conduct which is typical of the adolescent's reaction to environmental facts of any order. It does not in any way show characteristic features which enable it to be classed as sex-inspired. In it the adolescent shows a characteristic lack of concern for the happenings taking place about him, he is indifferent to the usual sources of pleasure or enjoyment and swiftly shows a picture that is common to many of the environmental difficulties of this period. The shut-in effect so often described best typifies the external aspect of the phantasy life. The sexual preoccupation of this phenomenon must be proven through the investigation of the state of mind at that time and cannot be deduced as a general fact to explain all such states or indeed any considerable part of them.

No chapter on the adolescent from the sexual point of view is at all complete without touching upon one form of conduct of sex origin which has long been supposed to be typical of the adolescent. It is that form of sexual impulse which in its expression is a form of conduct. This form of conduct is called self-abuse or masturbation. It is found in both the boy and girl, and if less frequently in the latter, its origin and mechanism do not greatly differ between the two. Masturbation should be looked at ordinarily as a physiological incident rather than as evidence of abnormality. It is a sort of pattern of action given the necessary preceding formative steps. Too often this whole matter is thought of from the abnormal or the moral point of view with emphasis on prevention and correctional devices. This latter has its place in a treatment of the subject as a whole, but before this stage is reached some notion as to the mechanics of this type of conduct should be obtained. The stage of abnormality is reached when the pattern has been established and when the individual cannot inhibit its performance and especially when its presence in the life of the adolescent causes on its own part such abnormal attitudes of mind that abnormal types of conduct result. The expression of the contents of the phantasy into types of conduct is of itself not an abnormal thing, but when the type of conduct comes to be socially incompatible and physiologically harmful then the element of abnormality steps in. Sex habits of this abnormal kind must be looked at exactly in the way other habits are, and to seek their genesis is logically the first step in finding measures aimed either to modify or suppress them. Masturbation as a physical or physiological fact is one thing; the effect, other than immediate satisfaction, quite another. It is to the latter that attention should be directed. It is impossible to look at masturbation from sharply separated points of view, because the resulting conduct effect is entirely too complex and comprehends many sorts of consequences. As a starting point it is a truism that very many boys and an unknown percentage of all girls have had at some time or other masturbational experiences of one kind or another. These acts extend all the way from accidental contact manipulations to the completed performance and all the way from the mildest mechanical procedures to those of patterned, fixed, and often complicated maneuvers. In most cases the masturbational phase is an episode, the significance of which is not material and the result of which is inconsequential. The inhibition which stops the continuation of the act before habit formation results is derived from many sources. Education, parental advice, admonition, religious influence, gossip, fear of consequences, and a host of other things serve to inform the adolescent at this stage of his sexual life that masturbation should be controlled and that its persistence will lead to unfortunate consequences. In this manner masturbation may be regarded as a self-limited reaction which in some way or other serves the purpose of establishing normal inhibition to the continuance of the practice itself. It can be compared to satisfying curiosity for drink by tasting whisky and then doing without it for whatever reasons the experience itself suggests. That masturbation is not essential to the establishment of sexual inhibition in this sense is of course true, because in many instances it is not done at all nor is there any serious impulse to that end. Considering, however, the whole mass of experience it is found that masturbation is a temporary device by which a certain amount of sexual experience is obtained and that one of its effects is to create a new kind of repression and a stronger set of inhibitions towards the future control of aberrant sexual conduct. That a certain degree of sex consciousness arises out of masturbational experience is probably true and that this may be associated with further conduct manifestations directly or indirectly related to sex as such is also true. These statements lose all value unless they are physiologically considered. If masturbation is examined purely as a conduct reaction and nothing more, there is an opportunity to think about it detached from the questions of right or wrong, good or bad. The statement that inhibition and control of the practice arise chiefly from socially derived sources needs some qualification. There is probably a kind of self-originating or almost automatic device or impulse which tends to inhibit the practice when once begun or prevents it from being initiated when the impulse to carry it out arises. Divorced as masturbation sometimes is from any ethical aspect and dissociated from any sort of social control the act itself is stopped on account of innate suggestions that it is harmful and injurious. There are too many instances of this sort to be ignored. It seems to belong to the same class as self-mutilation or injury. Differing from the painful effects of these things and from the pertinent evidence of their harmfulness, masturbation strikes deeply down to the levels of self-preservation instincts. There is a sense, vague and ill defined, often escaping interpretative effort and expression, that the act is essentially injurious no matter how carried out and no matter what feelings and sensations are aroused. Caution is necessary in deducing such a conclusion because it is evident that the influence of external inhibiting factors is extremely difficult to exclude. In instances where the most careful analysis of all other sources of information in regard to masturbation was sought and none were found, there remained this vague and indefinite series of sensations or ideas conclusively suggesting the idea that masturbation in itself produces physical injury to the body as a whole. This naked idea has nothing whatever to do with the complex group of socially aroused fears. These in most instances are stimulated when the habit becomes the subject of contemplation, discussion, or inquiry. There is found in human beings a kind of protective mechanism closely associated with the impulse to exist which is stimulated into activity when the integrity of the mechanism of life is threatened. These mechanisms work automatically and promptly. They seem to have little to do with experience and nothing whatsoever to do with deliberate thought. They are primitive and instinctive reactions associated with the fact of living itself. It is to such a level of instinctive action that the innate check on masturbation descends. An effort has been made to suggest that the inhibitions for the control of masturbation are derived from two sources; one of these is of more importance than the other. There is in the first place the instinctive type of inhibition just referred to and then the series of objections based upon society's experience with this very common sexual conduct. In the conduct manifestation of masturbation there is a complex and intricate story, one that is of more importance than the practice itself. It is out of the social phase that many of the problems arise and it is from their consequences that the adolescent's conduct should now be examined. To properly appreciate the significance of the following statements something of a more extended inquiry should be made concerning the previous statements in regard to what was called the Narcissus-like attitude of the adolescent towards the facts of sex manifested in his own body.

The question of love of self as a material thing must be touched upon and the mechanism of phantasy must be expanded. It should be clearly understood, however, that there is nothing suggesting the abnormal or pathological in this consideration. The data for conclusions made in this and the following pages are derived from the study of adolescents in their normal behavior and with the average experience in matters of this sort. Unfortunately there has been a tendency to regard the adolescent in the matter of sex as something abnormal, showing in his conduct traces of abnormal and perverse traits. Much of this is related to the results of the psychological studies that have been made on frankly abnormal types. Deductions from them have been carried over to the average and have been tinged with the same quality. Some of the nomenclature that has crept in under the guise of descriptive devices has strongly emphasized abnormal conditions so that manifestations that are often met with in the normal are assumed to be otherwise, because identical terms are used in both the normal and the abnormal. On the other hand there are adolescent conduct reactions that become abnormal if they extend beyond the limits of socially constructed inhibitions and if further they drive the individual to conduct socially detrimental to himself. There is no fixed limit where the normal ends and the abnormal begins, but beyond the borderland conduct becomes recognized as no longer within the average and admissible. On the other hand, it is true that the mechanisms are essentially the same in the two categories, the difference being usually in the proportionate effect on the individual as a social unit, and the effect on society, or that portion that is in intimate relation to him. How does masturbation then affect the conduct of the adolescent when it is not inhibited by such devices as already have been mentioned? There gather about this question a great many elements that have only a distant connection with or relation to the act itself. The association with questions of guilt, sin, and physical detriment produce a picture that is filled with fear and terror. The desirability of concealing the causes of these states from others, and especially those from whom he has obtained such information, makes him abnormally self-conscious and watchful. The secretive type of conduct thus produced causes an excessive shyness, for this is an aid to the constant guarding that seems necessary. The fewer people that he is in contact with the less must he be on his guard, and here a sense of security is obtained by further withdrawal from his accustomed personal contacts. The furtive adolescent is not an exaggerated picture. It may be repeated that no deductions as to causes may be made through observation of the individual alone, for this same type of conduct is found resulting from other causes in no way related to sexual conflicts. The withdrawal from the world of persons and things into his own self makes it easy for the adolescent to exercise without restraint the tendency before referred to—the lack of a proper sense of proportion and measurement. An added, but wholly unnecessary amount of attention is directed to the matter, and the excess of feelings and the emotional reactions increase beyond the limits not only of personal comfort, but almost to the limits of personal integrity. The imaginative resources of his mind are stretched to the limit along the line of the possible consequence of what he is now beginning to think of as his own particular guilt or sin. In some religions much is made of masturbation from the point of view of sinning and the act is characterized as a definite affront to God. This bald statement is often repeated by the adolescent in his effort to explain the enormity of his conduct. Two things result from this situation. The more introspective the adolescent becomes, because of the social restrictions he places upon himself, the more opportunity is furnished for the repetition of the act and the more necessary it is found to repeat it. The second almost follows automatically, that is, the conviction that he cannot do anything about it. In one way or another many adolescents are caught between the horns of this dilemma and in the currents of this vicious circle. For a more or less prolonged period, then, an adolescent shows in his constant conduct reaction the perplexity that has arisen from the masturbation conflict. The release from this conflict situation comes about in various ways, sometimes by the substitution of associated activities and interests which have sufficient sexual elements to connect them with the act that produced the *impasse,* at other times through the awakening of interest in things remote from sex or any of its implications. The larger scope of the adolescent's interests in the many and varied activities that normally grow up about him serve to divert his interest from the consideration of his own dilemma to those that have a more external meaning. In the solution of these there is little energy left for matters of sex. At any rate there is a well-defined tendency for the masturbation impulse, whatever its particular character and force may have been, to lose most of its impetus. Its importance in conduct expression gradually vanishes.

These are some of the channels of escape that spring up automatically out of the environmental activities themselves. They are a part of the growth and adaptative measures which normally occur in the scope of the adolescent's growth. It may be best described as a sort of automatic replacement, a shifting of interest and concern due to the piling up of new and hitherto unrecognized experiences. It is a part of the natural swing towards adjustment by which an individual acquires a kind of balance between conflicting and opposing things both in himself and in his surroundings. Progress is not constant and unruffled, but a gradual up-and-down course which finally reaches the point where the difficulty is no longer apparent. When this stage has been reached other and more diverting problems have made their appearance. They are often of a kind that lead him away from himself, a sort of preparation for the parting of adolescence completely. The facts and experiences of life become more vital to him than his concern with them as items in his subjective life. The period when introspection was a new and highly diverting experience is passing away with the realistic contact with the world of people, things, and facts. Another way out of the dilemma is through the intellectual pathway. This is furnished by education, meaning by that the acquisition of knowledge concerning sex or as much of it as applies to the limited portion that he thinks of as his own. Crude and often cruel bits of information about sex have come to the adolescent through faulty instruction, through gossip, superstition, and from sources too far away to trace. All this mass of false information has become individually organized, exerting its influence in ways hard to understand and difficult to analyze. The adolescent facing his own sexual problem has nothing but this to fall back upon and it leads him along the tedious pathway of ignorance and disillusionment. The replacing of this mass of ill-digested ignorance by truth and accurate knowledge both in relation to sex itself and the various sorts of conduct arising from it opens an avenue of escape. This gives him the chance to adjust himself to the problem by intelligent insight and through the intelligent appreciation of the legitimate place which sex should have in his life. Naturally this is a long and often arduous process, and the success or failure of such a method depends not only on the intelligence of the adolescent but equally upon those whose responsibility it is to instruct him.

The educational method, concerning which something will be said in a further chapter, is probably the usual and ordinary means through which adjustment takes place. It is almost universal in its appeal. Even at the present day when sex education is still in the process of being organized and correct procedures are matters of debate, and when there is question as to the proper source from which information should be obtained, nevertheless for the adolescent it presents the most logical and the most natural way out. The truth about sex can be stated. With the mystery and doubt removed, and the whole thing looked at as a matter of fact and reality, there is little difficulty as a rule in establishing proper inhibition and control. The release through some form of substituted social conduct is worth mentioning, because it produces conduct manifestations that are little understood and often so wrongly interpreted as to needlessly burden the adolescent. An adolescent previously uninterested in girls or boys as the case may be suddenly develops extreme interest and often a somewhat exaggerated emotional reaction to some boy or girl. A process of idealization occurs through which the object of affection is endowed with the virtues and the charm and all the attractions that are wanting in his own self. The idealization of this figure is important because it stimulates the striving towards a kind of perfection which the knowledge of a wrong sex habit completely blocks. Out of this tendency to idealize another, and that is particularly true of the opposite sex, there arises a similar desire to strive for idealized conduct in himself. Conduct which aims at that high plane is incompatible with so sordid a thing as masturbation. The conflict is accurately and plainly presented, so much so that action is almost essential to obtain any sort of peace of mind. The secretive and dilatory tactics that acted as a protective screen are replaced by an active attempt to suppress what has become a sort of social and personal wrong. In this way the habit fades away and with it often as a matter of fact does the figure that gave inspiration to the effort. It is not necessary for the idealized personality to be of the opposite sex, nor need it be of the same age or similar social position. All that is needed is that the mechanism of idealization should be stimulated and that this stimulus should be powerful enough to influence conduct. That all of the social conduct of the adolescent in relation to an idealization of the personality of another is due to the impulse to escape from the masturbational conflict is of course not true. As a matter of fact very little is. In the great majority of cases the social relations have nothing to do with sex in this meaning at all. Idealizations are too constant a product of the adolescent to limit them to sex alone. Its significance lies in the fact that escape procedures, whatever their kind and variety may be, take advantage of the means at hand, and for the rescue of the adolescent from the masturbational conflict there is nothing so efficacious and nothing so absolutely normal. Something ought to be said of the idealization of figures that are not real and the influence which such procedures exert upon the adolescent in his attempt to solve the conflicts arising from sex. The most usual figures are religious ones and especially the one figure that has been placed as the center of the adolescent's religious world. There is added to the influence which such conceptions arouse the passionate and mystic temper characteristic of all religious idealizations. The notions of purity, chastity, physical and moral perfection, and all the other saintly and godlike attributes are powerful aids. Though by actual observation the percentage is small in which religious idealizations exert much of an influence in guiding the adolescent through the conduct complexities of sexual conflicts, yet it must be considered as one of the more common forms of release and one in which the mechanism is sufficiently clear to add a useful item in understanding the adolescent as a complete personality. While these by no means exhaust the various forms of conduct problems associated with the question of sex in the adolescent period, sufficient has been said about one of its most outstanding manifestations, that is, masturbation. A key to the understanding of this phase of the adolescent can be obtained by considering this temporary anomaly because it stresses sharply many of the normal mental mechanisms and shows them in action as clearly cut devices arising out of the necessary demand for protection and escape.

In the adolescent there exists a firmly grounded tendency towards social expression by way of awakened sexual impulses that have no relation whatsoever to the conduct that has just been considered. Interest in and concern with the opposite sex dissociated from any direct sexual interest or desire and not even vaguely connected with any sort of sexual act are matters of general observation. That these forms of social conduct are sex-stimulated is obvious enough, but in just what way and how they come about is not so easy to determine. The suddenly aroused social activity of the adolescent and the great variety of conduct manifested in the presence of the opposite sex are phenomena that attract attention but escape interpretation. They bear no relation to sex maturity or to any well-recognized stage in the development of the sexual apparatus. Often indeed in the case of the boy, conduct of this sort begins long before adolescence or may show itself long afterwards. It is difficult in examining these instances to determine how the sex element enters in. That there exists an attraction between the male and the female apart from sex is evident, that is, from sex as it is commonly known. The desire to be with the opposite sex is associated no doubt with the wish to possess. At least the same kind of emotional reactions are found in both kinds of relation. The very vagueness of the emotional striving makes it easy to ascribe to it sex, just as sex differences seem always to suggest sex appeal. The attraction of a boy to a girl may have another explanation entirely, one that emanates from simple differences. If this were understood a good deal of light would be thrown on some of the singular types of adolescent conduct.

An attempt has been made to describe adolescent conduct caused by conflicts of a sexual kind, and conduct that appears to be of the same category but into which sex does not enter. The intermediate kind of conduct in which there is a mingling of motives must remain one of the many inexplicable features of the adolescent sex conflicts. Conduct is always an intricate thing, both in its actual presentation and even more so when the many and varied sources of its stimulus are considered. Sex as an inciter of a specific sort of conduct is a definite thing, but sex in its relation to other indirect conduct reactions presents too many questions for any dogmatic statement of its exact position in causation. In any given adolescent it is necessary to find the place in which sex belongs by a discriminating scrutiny of his conduct and not by assuming beforehand either its importance or its lack of significance.

CHAPTER XVI

PERSONALITY; BEHAVIOR; CONDUCT

THE sketch of the adolescent now advances to a more complete configuration in which conduct, behavior, and personality are important.

In defining these terms it is necessary to keep in mind that they are in many ways incapable of rigid delimitations. They form centers around which all sorts of theories in regard to human action have been built and upon which systems of psychology have been erected. It is obvious that definitions of such a complex order would be of little advantage in the task attempted in this chapter. In an effort to describe and to interpret, as far as that is possible, the adolescent as a more complete organism, the simplest and the most definite connotations of terms are essential. It is no advantage as far as a clear-cut outline of the adolescent is concerned to touch upon controversial systems of psychology. Therefore these definitions are made only for the purpose of outlining the adolescent and as such their usefulness must be judged.

Behavior means the reaction of an organism stripped down to its simplest elements in the face of external or internal stimuli requiring some type of response involving the whole of the organism. In this kind of response there is no intrusion of inhibitions arising from social experiences and nothing controlling the response of the individual other than his own reaction to the situation. Behavior is capable of experimentation, conduct is not. The kind of thing one does in the face of an ordinary fear stimulus is an example of a behavior reaction. The kind of thing that one does in the face of a difficult social emergency is conduct. A behavior reaction is thus individual and personal, uninfluenced by social or other control; a conduct reaction is one that is wholly or in part directed, deviated and influenced by the intrusion of society in the transference of stimulus to action. Conduct on the other hand implies the presence of an ethical, customary, or traditional element into the situation which so modifies the type of reaction that it ceases to be the answer of the organism alone but is this plus social ideals of one kind or other. Conduct always implies some element of striving, some notion of the ideal, and some ethical or moral quality, some conformation to established things and recognition of the orderly arrangement of social customs. Conduct is therefore subject to more variations than behavior. Conduct is not the same under different conditions of the environment and it changes with the type of individual and also varies according to the levels of social groupings. Associated closely with conduct is manners. These are conventionalized and stereotyped sets of actions that have become built up by social usage to make social intercourse easy and to provide short cuts for complicated social happenings. They take the place of independent action. The confusion resulting from varying kinds of action under similar conditions is therefore avoided. Conduct arises from mass experience more or less consciously organized and codified, while behavior is more strictly individual and elastic, much more influenced by the kind and variety of demand, much more instinctive, mechanical, and reflex.

Conduct and behavior, whatever may be distinctive in their origins, sometimes approach each other so that no distinction is observable. Conduct in this sense takes on something of the automaticity of behavior and its social derivation seems far away. On the whole, however, the distinction between the two is sustained and this difference in origin may often be used in explaining unusual variations in each. The adolescent as a total organism together with his social reactions as an expression of himself is now more evident. The conduct pattern presented must be thought of as peculiarly his own, although its characteristics may be shared by others. A varied assortment of negative and positive states may be described, such as inattention, indifference, rudeness, self-interest, combativeness, intolerance, lack of respect, disobedience and others which outline him more concretely. A description of each of these qualities alone means little, but in relation to the total fills out the picture. If only one were intimately known then the whole of adolescence would, of course, be much more clearly understood. What makes mass deductions of the adolescent impossible is the fact of individual differences. When differences are thought of in a social sense personality is brought out. Personality is the sum of the essential variations in all organisms, having in the case of the human being a particular connotation because the differences are modified by intrinsic though subtle variations that arise out of mental content. In addition, therefore, to the physical variations between any two living things there are the subtle and often intangible differences in quality between any series of mental reactions. The content of consciousness, which perhaps means the totality of experiences in this sense, weaves in and out, modifying, changing, and altering the whole, until there is a distinct, though perhaps wavy outline, which comes to be known as that individual and none other. It may almost be said that personality rests upon this intimate flavor. It is something that often escapes definition, although it is readily and easily recognized. Personality outlines may be grouped and to some extent classified, but the essential unlikeness is more marked than the likeness. Attempts are made to describe the personality make-up, and various descriptive terms are used but on the whole they are inaccurate, because there are no words that exactly fit nor are there terms or symbols that express exactly the sort of shimmer that radiates from a human being when looked at as an individual and distinct thing. Personality can be regarded as made up first of all of the physical qualities, muscular conformation, bodily outlines, color, texture, etc. Then there are added physiological characteristics, quickness of response, slowness, intensity, rhythm of movement, etc. The mental ingredient infiltrates the whole of the picture. It might be thought of as the totality of experience which is in the process of or has undergone some sort of organization into a structure that for want of a better term may be called consciousness. The units of this structure are not experience, merely as such, but the emotions which they have aroused and the feeling tones which are their constant accompaniment. Personality may be looked upon as a quality representing the reaction of one individual to the environment which is not repeated in the case of any other. This quality is emphasized by various artificial distinctions such as name, place, race, and other devices that are used as a means of segregating the unit from the mass. The thing one does, the way one reacts to external things, the social stratum to which he belongs, all sorts of affiliations are a help in differentiation. After all, however, the essential is that elusive something that for the want of a better word may be called "flavor."

It is difficult to select the significant varieties of conduct in the adolescent from those that appear less so, but which from his own standpoint may be of great importance. If the adolescent were given the chance to describe himself and if it were possible for him to do this in a detached way, the chances are that he would select phases of his reactions that the adult would pass over as insignificant and trivial. This is one of the important difficulties that has confronted or should confront any one attempting such a task. In the many descriptions in literature of adolescence by those who have passed out of it, there is a feeling on the part of the sensitive reader that for some reason or other the episodes and the ideas and feelings noted represent not at all the significant affairs in the adolescent's life but the adult's opinion as to their significance. It is this that gives to so much of this literature an artificial and unreal tinge in spite often of its literary value and the insight it furnishes into ways of thinking about this period. Unfortunately there is no other way to proceed than to attempt to select those types of conduct that on the whole have been found to be more characteristic and to consider them as types that warrant description and analysis for their own sake.

That some change in the personality takes place at adolescence is evident, because it is this change that often attracts the attention of those about the child. These changes are at first slight and consist of minor accentuations of evident traits. A slight increase in the usual type of responses is all. The first noticeable alteration is merely an accentuation of characteristics already existing. In this sense he is really a little more like himself than before. The presenting personality type is attractive or likable or the reverse in proportion as the predominant qualities are agreeable or not. An irritable make-up becomes more irritable, an active, vigorous, restless one more so, an affectionate one increases in demonstrative conduct, etc. At this stage the adolescent in response to the stimulus of growth and the sharpening of the consciousness of existence has recourse only to those things in himself which are already present there. He responds on the other hand in a more energetic way to the increasing number and greater intensity of stimuli. In many instances there is at the adolescent age not much more than this, an accentuation of dominant traits of personality and the acquisition of others that were not evident before. After a period in which some kind of adjustment to the new load has taken place, the adolescent, in a way, slides into the more mature stage of his growth and there is nothing to suggest that there has been a period of conflict. In what percentage this placid type of change occurs is not known, but that it is high is probable. So much of adolescence passes without attracting much attention or needing any care that it is safe to say that the average is represented by this type of alteration and progressive adaptation to whatever demands the situation sets up.

The adolescent conflict and revolt and the other important phenomena that have been described are subdued not by anything in the adolescent himself but by the pressure of pre-existing forms, customs, and other social devices. All these things are pushed far below the surface by the overlying crust of immediate social, economic, and other necessities. Frequently too the adolescent disappears in the turmoil of industrial life and becomes just one of the many units forming the system of an organized struggle to exist. In many cases the conflicts and the struggles of the adolescent in an individual sense are transferred to a group and he loses his identity in the crowd to which through his industrial affiliation he belongs. His protest is classified and becomes reduced to demands which represent the need or necessity of a group. It is of some interest as a sort of by-product of the adolescent's adaptation to speculate about the cause of the evident immaturity and frequent lack of logic in group demands, suggesting that some of the underlying impetus has all the qualities of adolescence. This is particularly evident in some of the social demonstrations, especially in cases in which the leaders and many of its members are youthful and near enough the adolescent period to be still influenced by it. This point is worth while emphasizing a bit even at the risk of departing a little from the orderly arrangement of the subject matter of this chapter. The tendency to transfer the individual conflicts, stresses, and difficulties to larger groups and thus get rid of them is a device well established by the study of human conduct. That this happens without plan or intent does not modify its importance or diminish its interest. It merely suggests once more the profound influence of social organization upon the individual and the manner in which he adapts himself to external difficulties through social devices of one kind or another. Society, at first seen through the eyes of the adolescent as an inimical thing against which he must struggle with some hope of success, becomes, after he has tasted the sting of conflict, a kind of refuge into which he is gathered and from which he obtains the comfort and ease of spirit which crowd organizations appear to furnish. Ideas of this sort furnish many suggestions which lend support to the conception of adolescence as largely a social question. At any rate it seems clear enough that at least one of the explanations in regard to the latency of the conflict in the adolescent lies in the idea that society has taken his struggle from him and has added to her load his own. The devious results of this transference may be seen in the effect on the adolescent as he advances further on his way to a permanent social adaptation. To turn from the submerged type of adolescent to his emerging brother is but a shifting of attention from a less to a more picturesque subject, and, with the idea of a kind of social background, note may be taken of the first of the more definite changes in the adolescent as shown by the intensification of traits and qualities before evident, with which this part of the inquiry was begun.

The stage in which the conduct of the adolescent is guided so largely by the intensification of previously formed or inherent traits is succeeded by one in which a great variety of the unusual and unexpected make their appearance. Some of these seem so strange and depart so much from the normal or average that the adolescent is often spoken of as an entirely different person. A stage has been reached in which a depersonalization seems to be taking place. The well-known outlines of personality, a matter of course to those about, are altered so that what was before usual and customary becomes now rare and unusual. In addition the new aspects have an astonishing degree of sharpness and unexpectedness. The question is, where do they come from and how do they arise? The difficulty in satisfying these questions lies in the fact that there are no manifest alterations in surroundings and new things have not happened. No influences or interests of a new sort are evident. Often, indeed, the outward aspect of the adolescent has not altered in the least or the change has been so gradual that no one has remarked it. Obviously the change must be due to something that cannot be observed and that something of course lies in the shift in the adolescent's consciousness, through which there has come about a change of values in regard to environmental facts, incidents, and experiences. This shifting of values is in reality due to the immediate fact of the recognition of self and is built up by the process of judging these things by some other standard than that furnished by environmental authority which before was sufficient. The period of automatic acceptance is being passed and a stage is in process of being attained where the last and least criticized authority is one's self. Of course this does not imply independence of judgment. There is nothing that remotely suggests the detachment which is so essential for that, but there is a steady tendency to rely upon something that is not familiar and not immediately at hand. That something lies shut up in the inner consciousness and is in the beginning uninfluenced in any marked degree by external things. It can be readily understood, especially if some of the consideration given to emotion and feeling is remembered, that nothing that is described in this regard is untinged by them. Consequently conduct variations are so logical that there is nothing surprising in the fact that the adolescent seems to be an altered being.

The identity of an individual is marked chiefly by the things he does or says and by the external characteristics of form, detail of appearance, and ordinary muscular reactions. The details of the inner life which are so much more important in furnishing the stimulus to action and in modifying conduct are naturally not open to observation and this source of identification can therefore not be used. The adolescent seems to change by virtue of his conduct from one individual to another, but the sources of this alteration and the dynamics behind it are matters that can be known only by himself and then only in part because he is not aware of many of the stimuli. It seems obvious therefore that an insight into the inner workings of the mind is essential for understanding the personality alteration. If it were possible to obtain a sort of "keynote" to the complex mechanism which lies at the core of conduct variations and with that interpret in gross outlines at least the resulting effects, then some sort of explanation might be reached, at least enough to clear the way for further inquiry. It is a fair statement that the most usual mechanisms that activate the adolescent's conduct are those that arise out of the knowledge or partial knowledge of the environment in relation to himself. This sense of impending necessity receives its chief dynamic force through emotions which infiltrate through every state of the process which is building up the conflicts. In fact it is impossible to conceive conflict in this sense without emotion. Emotion is not something that stands apart or something that can be separated out, but is an intimate and essential quality without which nothing would ever happen. The essential nature of emotions is not known but they may be regarded as an energizing element which furnishes the impetus to carrying out the action which the conflict produces. The action, or in other words the conduct, is the release of the conflict into channels of muscular pattern. The adolescent does something or does nothing according to the particular needs present at the moment. If a series of conduct reactions takes place so that a conformity of pattern results, the effect on the observer is that of a complete picture of the individual and if this seems to be out of line from the previous pattern then a personality change is spoken of. The shifting of the pattern from one type to another fulfills the notion that the adolescent is a changed or altered person. It can be seen from this and other statements already made that in reality there is no essential change at all, but merely the working out of the hitherto dormant content in levels of the mind which have been prepared by previous experiences. The new quality is simply the appearance in a more active way of the beginnings of awareness and the sensations produced by the feeling of personal identity. As the external world is getting to recognize the adolescent as a particular individual so he is doing the same thing in regard to himself. If this inner mechanism is thought of as something that is pretty constantly present and often active without external evidence, then the various kinds of reactions involving the totality of the adolescent may become clear. If typical states are taken as examples they can be thought of as the expressions of the conflict that lies behind them and if the items of this conflict were also known a useful interpretation would follow.

Much of the adolescent's presenting conduct has been called moods or moodiness. This is a good enough covering term to imply the background of melancholy and the resulting tendency to retire from contact with the world about. The external qualities of this variation have already been described but the complete picture is shot through with emotional stimulus. One of the important results of a sense of conflict is the feeling of hopelessness. In the presence of obstacles to be overcome there often develops the idea that the effort is not worth while. This is due to the feeling of inevitable failure. A premonition of this sort is not a result of experience in like attempts, nor does it arise from knowledge of the difficulties themselves nor from outside sources of information, but is directly associated with and a part of the whole procedure. It really is some kind of innate response of the organism as a whole and cannot be directly associated with any logical contemplation of the occurrence itself. It is from the more or less steady observation of the environment that the adolescent acquires a sense of the futility of attempting either to understand or fit himself to it. The world in which he lives appears often a kind of rigid mass of duties, customs, and all sorts of demands, most of which he neither understands nor cares about. The adolescent does not, of course, sit and contemplate the factors of his environment, analyze them, count or arrange them, but he is aware of them as they impinge upon himself and as they seem to call more and more insistently for some kind of action. This environment, even to him, must appear complex, made up of different and often contradictory things. He finds conflict of authority, disputed opinions, different suggestions about identical things; in fact, he finds a small replica of the world. It is as incomprehensible a thing to him as it is to the adults about him. In this maze of things he lacks just that one thing that the more mature individual usually has or is forced to find, that is, something with which to fight his way out, which is another way of saying a tangible means by which adaptation may be attained. In the adult this is furnished by his business in life, his trade, job, or profession, or whatever it is that he is forced to do in order to exist. In the carrying out of this or even in the attempt to do so the adult is able to transfer his doubts and fears into types of effort so that the difficulties of the objective conflict are lost sight of, only to be reckoned with again when his affairs seem about to crumble to pieces about him. Moods have no doubt also a purely organic origin and occur often as a result of definite bodily sensations. Pain and discomfort and the sensations arising out of a badly working physical mechanism can cause feelings of depression and hopelessness, and the sense of futility that result in the moody attitude. If these situations are analyzed it will be found that the chief element is fear. This fear has direct reference to a sense of inability to meet the demands of existence. As this is lessened the danger of succumbing to the effort appears less imminent. The fear of death lies close to all conditions in which physical or mental handicaps are present and conscious. This fear is not associated with the thought of death as such or as an occurrence in the immediate future, but is indefinite and vague. It is this which suggests that the elements of a purely primitive and instinctive reaction are concerned. The desire to exist and the fear of not existing are two of the essential formulæ in all living things, endowed with the faculty of insight and consciousness of self. In the adolescent, with the stage set for the growth of self-consciousness, this fear assumes a greater importance—though here too it is vague, uncertain, not sharply cut.

In all likelihood at the adolescent stage there are many changes in the body itself which temporarily produce lack of balance in various mechanisms. Physiological functions begin to be active for which the body as a whole is not prepared. The muscular system as has been pointed out develops beyond the capacity of the nervous system to control it properly, and so with other systems as well. Among the other results of this lack of synchronous and harmonious growth there arise sensations of discomfort, inadequacy, and perhaps, in extreme cases, definite pain. These of themselves do not produce or stimulate the sense of fear alluded to, but in combination with the conflict process in which there is a like futility of effort, a sufficiently strong stimulus to that end may be produced. Moodiness then, which may be described as the alternation of the vague fear of death with over-compensation in the feeling of relief, produces the contrasting states of depression and exaltation. These make easy the variabilities of conduct, associated with states of this kind and give the picture so often described and so puzzling to the onlooker. That, as far as the surroundings of the adolescent are concerned, there are no readily recognized causes to account for them is not the least of the mystery.

Another characteristic of the adolescent as a complete figure may be described as the lack of the sense of values. In the normal well-organized adult, things in the immediate environment and the experiences that arise from them have or come to have a value according to their importance. In general, life would be difficult to carry on without this sense, which provides a means of adjusting the reaction to the stimulus. An excess of conduct in relation to a minimal demand is in this way prevented and the organism does not spend itself uselessly in non-essential adjustments. The wear and tear of the organism is lessened and the varying activities of life are carried on with a kind of organized rhythm. Custom and tradition lay down appropriate conduct for certain kinds of environmental stimuli and the appropriate response comes to be automatic. An excess of emotion in response to a minimal stimulus is thus prevented and an excessive type of conduct is inhibited. Exceptions are, of course, always occurring even in the best-regulated organism, but more and more, as the adult develops, these occurrences are less frequent so that the sense of proportion may be thought of as one of the most significant indicators of the normal human being. To weep violently over the loss of an insignificant object, to carry out a complicated or violent bit of conduct for some trivial offense, to sink into the depths of despair over some minor happening are the marks of immaturity and if carried to an excessive stage are the evidence of mental disturbance. It is obvious that the complex activities of social organization could not be carried on if the proper relation between conduct and stimulus to conduct were not achieved. In the case of the adolescent the intrusion of social contingencies finds him little prepared for the exercise of the sense of value. There is little in his previous training except inhibition which would afford him any foundation for the necessary restraint on conduct, feeling, or mood. In previous stages of development there were certain negations that served as a sufficient brake on conduct to enable him to accept the values placed on things by others. With the sense of approaching individuality a good deal of this is swept away. The inrush of personalized experiences is so great and sudden that he gets the fashion of acting in response to all of the elements in a situation, instead of to a part of them or to a selected part of them. The extreme sensitiveness on the one hand and the "hard-boiled" state on the other are two of the effects so common as to require no more than mention. The adolescent's feelings are constantly being hurt by nothing, while he is blandly oblivious to slights on other occasions. There seem to be no intermediate responses of this kind. He almost illustrates the physiological all-or-none formula.

Such states must be clearly differentiated from the moodiness just described because they have none of their mental and primitive implication, but are purely social in origin and meaning. With each new social requirement the adolescent reacts in the line of complete response according to his own innate way of doing so. In this way he presents a conduct anomaly best described as one essentially lacking in proportionate value. It is important, however, to realize that it is not a question of value alone that is lacking, but that it is the adolescent type of value. It is not that which the experience of society would place upon it. The things that seem to him of importance stimulate a socially important bit of conduct, and the resulting incongruity affects him not at all. When these things are brought to his attention, which is only too frequently done, he is puzzled if he indeed pays any attention whatever to the comments and criticisms which his actions have aroused.

One of the most troubling of the many difficulties in the attempt to explain the adolescent is the task of getting the proper perspective in types of conduct obviously social in origin and meaning, but just as obviously sexual in complexion and purpose. The simplest solution is to interpret all of adolescence as a sort of sexual adjustment or an attempt to that end, but the very simplicity of a theory of that sort is its undoing. The more carefully the adolescent is studied and the more his conduct is looked into the more difficult it becomes to assign to sex its true rôle. There are so many overlapping sources of stimuli and there are so many contradictory things that lie behind conduct, so many conflict sources other than those of a sexual kind that the pathway to the truth is devious and only too often ends in blind alleys. On the other hand the fact is evident that sex is one of the outstanding features in the adolescent stage and for him that fact is not a theoretical, but an objective thing or event. This being so, its presence must always be taken into account and its possible dynamic value in influencing conduct must always be in the foreground. One of the first things to be considered is the relationship between the fact of sex as such and social conduct in relation to it. There is no need at this point to consider the question in any other way than its direct responsibility for certain forms of conduct. In the chapter devoted to the questions of the rôle of sex in the life of the adolescent the conclusion was reached that, on the whole, there has been a good deal of exaggeration and a good deal too much emphasis placed upon it. The evidence in support of the predominant importance of sex is obtained by adherence to one school of thought on this subject and by the neglect of all others. The fact remains, however, that sex is a vital fact in the adolescent life and that as such it must necessarily influence conduct. The important thing is to find how and in what manner this is done and what are the types of conduct which show without much question sex as a chief or significant factor. Under whatever term sex may be presented to the adolescent the fact of sex and sex differentiation is there and it is around this rather bald statement that much of what is discussed at this point will have to remain.

There has been of late a tendency to regard sex as a symbol of universal energy which is capable of producing types of conduct reaction that on the surface bear not the slightest connotation of sex, but through substitution and other devices nevertheless represent sex in one manifestation or another. Religion, the influence of beauty, the love of poetry, and many emotional reactions, according to those that sympathize with such a view, have sex as their energizing force. It is easy enough to interpret almost any type of conduct which is emotionally activated as a product or by-product of sex. If the conduct so examined seems not in the remotest way allied to sex in its final result, then through ingenious processes of interpretation it may be made to seem so. The various and often devious methods of psychoanalysis and interpretation of symbols can be used to explain conduct from the basis of sex and sexual conflict, so that, as has been before pointed out, all of adolescent conduct may be thought of as sex-infiltrated, at least.

Sex, however, must be considered in its more narrow and precise meaning in order to make clear some of the conduct manifestations of the adolescent, especially as the social side of the question is now of predominant interest. The immediate question is, how does the awakened interest in sex produce those social types of conduct which are the translation of reawakened or newly stimulated impulses? The fact of sex and the reaction of the adolescent to that fact in his social conduct require examination. It is not necessary to stress the importance of this. It is only of value as a matter of understanding and of appreciating the adolescent conflicts, but it has a direct relationship to the educational effort that confronts any one in the position of guide, instructor, or adviser to the adolescent. It is essential, therefore, to obtain if possible some well-balanced and valued conception, so that some use may be made of them in the attempt to influence the adolescent in understanding the series of experiences derived from the introduction of sex into his life. The great difficulty lies in getting a point of view that squares with the actual facts and at the same time avoids the entangling cross currents of controversy which any sexual inquiry automatically arouses.

CHAPTER XVII

METHODS OF ESCAPE

UP to this time the adolescent has been viewed as a kind of prisoner, shut in and closed about by his environment. This environment has been described as a complex organization composed of tangible and intangible things. It is inelastic, unyielding, and rigid. Opposed is the adolescent, pliable, adaptable, and yielding, who is identified by the fact that he is conscious of and recognizes the necessity of adaptation. This marks out this period of his life from anything that went before. In the conflict between the adolescent and the environment some decisive outcome is inevitable. A static condition of things cannot well persist in the face of emotional reactions set up by the adolescent conflict. Something is bound to happen and some type of conduct necessarily results, tracing its origin from the deep-lying levels of the adolescent mechanism and being a protection or escape device. In the sense in which these terms are used conduct is to be regarded as a complete and vital maneuver through which the process of adaptation is moved forward towards its ultimate goal. The conflict is translated into a series of purposive acts which are intended to alter a situation which seemed to be unalterable. In other words, the conflict becomes a series of activities. To these various types of conduct the term escape is given. This word suggests a definite impulse to solve the dilemma brought about by the inevitable urge for a way out of a situation caused by the encircling of the environment. There are many kinds of escapes, some of them less common than others and some apparently futile and hopeless, poorly planned for any ultimate success. They represent rather the fumbling and unconscious schemes of primitive or instinctive actions in the face of difficulties not within the compass of an alert though untrained intelligence. The difficulties are sensed but not understood. They are not similar to adult solutions in similar conditions, because the adult makes use of experience, either his own or others, to guide him. In the adult there is the sense of personal profit, advantage, reward, or necessity, a more or less constant state of awareness and often indeed a period of preparation and anticipation. In the adolescent, on the other hand, the escapes are answers to deep-seated demands and to the stimulus of unconscious strivings and wishes vaguely, if at all, capable of being expressed. Solutions rather than escapes perhaps is a better way to describe what happens as there is often no escape in the usual meaning of that word. It is impossible, of course, to get away from an environment of some kind and the one which is substituted may be equally as difficult from the point of view of the adolescent as the one from which he has fled. Nevertheless the adolescent makes an effort to satisfy the demands of that part of himself which seeks for a change in the hope that he may be more free and less harassed. Whatever this maneuver turns out to be, it meets the demand aroused by the conflict. As a result there is an interruption or a deviation in the orderly and smooth flow of his personality growth. The interruption may be slight and momentary or important and long continued.

In most of the recollections of adolescence there is no trace of any violent perturbation of spirit which can be traced in later life, certainly nothing so upsetting as to merit the descriptive terms of conflict, revolt, and escape. This does not invalidate the observation that no adolescent of a normal physical and mental make-up fails to encounter this environmental reaction. Perhaps there is nothing quite as important for the adult understanding of the adolescent as a thorough appreciation of the fact that adolescence means a tentative attempt to fit into an environment not of the adolescent's creation. The environment of the adolescent is something that is already made, composed of many things that a wiser world would have long ago discarded. The faults, mistakes, and often cruel and stupid judgments of the past are there enshrined, hallowed by usage rather than by wisdom. The prejudices, superstitions, and narrow judgments of feebly endowed intelligences are crystallized in that structure. The adult keeps in the environment his standards of success, his estimation of conduct, the wrecks of his shattered dreams, the shell of his idealism, his patterns of conformity, his inventions, his lack of sensitiveness and often contempt for the beautiful, his emphasis on the practical, his fear for the new and the novel, his eternal attitude that change is to be feared, that the present is the best possible and the past still better. These are the ideas that flicker about the environment and puzzle the expectant and timorous adolescent. It must not be forgotten that there is an authoritative background to all this, a background that reaches deeply into the adolescent's past, composed of the parental influence, the force of remembered disciplines, and the educational reminiscences dating from his early childhood and infancy.

It is from such a point of view that the adolescent escape must be thought of, that is, his own interpretation of environment and his own analysis of what it is. This point of view may be faulty, the judgments may be wrong, but they are all that he has. This is not a sketch of the world as it is, but of the world that the adolescent sees. Indeed the adolescent may not be so wrong after all, because many of the things that are objectionable to him are so to all of us, things which remain simply because they cannot be changed. This quality of unchangeableness often seems falsely to imply that such things are true, right, and good. To the adolescent with his ready and fresh impulse for adaptability this appears to be strange and incomprehensible, and he seeks to escape or make what adjustments he can. Some of these adjustments and some of these escapes can now be scrutinized. Many of the escapes are futile, unsuccessful, and some of them, though fortunately not many, end in disaster. By going back on a false trail the true path is often found. To see the adolescent in his escape predicaments is to understand how and why they come about. If the adult is able to understand why the solutions that he has devised have failed he should see more plainly the confused picture of the adolescent's predicament for which he is at least partly responsible. The world as it is must be faced both by the adult and the adolescent. There is possibly no chance that either will be able to do much about it, except in the appreciation of each other's difficulties. Out of this may come, at the least, a sympathetic understanding.

Adaptation necessitated by a conflict and the escape from the burden of the conflict sums up the reaction of the adolescent to things that he cannot otherwise meet. It is difficult to select out of the many schemes through which his adjustment is accomplished those that are characteristic or typical. There are, however, certain groups which seem worth describing, rather as suggestive hints as to the solution of the revolt than as constant devices. In each instance the plan is individually carried out. The settings are different and there are all sorts of personal fittings, so that no one case resembles another. In a general way, however, the adolescent, as far as the mechanism of escape is concerned, falls into one or another of several groups.

The most constant method of escape is through conformity. More than any other this outlet suggests itself. By far the greater number of adolescents satisfy the conflict demands by submerging his conflict and the emotional reactions that go with it by conforming to the environmental demands. He then becomes a natural and conventional part of the environment against which he was in revolt. The escape through conformity needs elaboration, because at first sight it seems to be no escape at all. The adolescent in the process of melting into his environment accomplishes nothing and does nothing in response to his conflict. He is caught in the ebb and flow of the organized life about him and ceases from then on to show adolescent characteristics. His revolt and conflict stage is passed and his adaptative reactions are those of any adult for whom conformity is the average and normal characteristic of his responses to difficult situations no matter what they may be.

The conformation solution is not limited to the dull, unimaginative, or intellectually feeble adolescent. It is one of the surprising things in a study of the adolescent period to find out that there is nothing in the type, kind, or vigor of the conflict that warrants prophecy in regard to the type of escape eventually hit upon. There are too many unknown factors which play about the adolescent and there are too many hidden sources of response to venture a prediction. The power and strength of one of the important underlying impulses of mass movement in a biological sense force the adolescent to conform and become a part of the environment through the adaptative maneuver of submergence. He is unable to force his way out by following the dictation of his own wishes and desires, no matter how powerful they happen to be. The revolt and the conflict are there and they are striking in their manifestations, but, for some reason difficult to identify, the dynamic power is wanting. The picture of the environment begins to soften and the attractiveness of the release from the attitude of objection to that of conformation beckons with an irresistible force. Nothing then happens, the adolescent turmoil is over and done with, and there remains little trace of opposition. At a later time, however, a mysterious urge may disturb an otherwise placid existence. This is the stirring of the submerged conflict and the reawakening in a feeble way of the dreams and the phantasies of adolescence never given the opportunity of being translated into any other sort of conduct but that of fitting in. It is not essential to dwell long on this kind of solution. It is too common and too much the counterpart of almost any one's youth to require more than mention. It is too much in line with our present-day civilization to regard it as anything other than the most normal and the most natural of all the pathways of release. To the world we live in it gives its stability and furnishes the momentum for the slowly growing institutionalization of our daily lives. Perhaps it is essential that the youth of each generation in a larger and larger percentage should conform early to the environment into which they have been thrust in order to carry on to whatever fulfillment the present state of things permits. As the environment becomes more and more static, which appears to be the trend at present, the percentage of adolescents who conform will no doubt increase and after a while there will be no use in inquiring into the phenomenon of adolescence, because that itself will disappear.

In almost all adolescents from time to time there is a distinct tendency to flee the environment, to run away from it. This running away is not used here in any mythical or figurative sense, but is an actual physical piece of conduct which often is a surprising and startling experience for parents and others concerned. An escape of this sort appears most foolish and disconcerting to them. It is difficult to see why this sort of solution is not more common, because the means of accomplishing it are so simple and the impulse to run away is so logical. Between running away and slow and painful adaptation the choice would always seem to favor the first. The more active and pleasanter performance of cutting loose (an answer to one of the most primitive of all impulses, that of flight in the face of environmental difficulties), would seem the most natural thing in the world. It is obvious that there must be in the majority of all adolescents something that interferes with the carrying out of the impulse which seems to be the most common of all the various instinctive demands for some sort of action. The impulse towards flight is one of our biological inheritances and comes to the surface in almost any social difficulty. There exists, however, in almost every one a traditional and fixed inhibition, which appears as soon as the flight impulse reaches a definite level of activity. It is a counteracting impulse not to run away because there is something socially wrong about running away. A conflict develops at the biological level, something that forbids a perfectly adequate and logical maneuver for reasons that have nothing to do with the individual in the special circumstances confronting him. It is the play of custom, tradition, and the remembrance of a long line of social admonitions that step in between the adolescent and his flight impulse. It is a curious and remarkable demonstration of the hold that custom has and the fear of the consequences that will follow any break in established usage.

The flight impulse more often turns the adolescent towards the regions of his phantasy after that impulse towards the outside world has been balked. Even so the adolescent often finds that the impulse to flight is too strong to resist and he runs away from the environment which can no longer restrain him through its formal inhibitions. The flight reaction is often not stimulated by any definite thing and frequently there has been no immediate directing incident. The adolescent does not explain just why at that given time he felt an uncontrollable impulse to get away. It is generally a series of things that have happened, a piling up of incentives, a concentration of desire to get away. In the majority of cases the adolescent soon returns and the impulse to flight appears to be satisfied by the one adventure into the open world. The world he seeks is often not any great distance from the one he temporarily leaves nor different in any important way from the one he has left. It is perhaps the discovery that the thing he seeks is not to be found, that causes him to return and the further discovery that the outside world or the world he can run away to contains its own elements of difficult adaptation, just as the one he knows so well.

In the adolescent's escape by flight there is nothing resembling the impulsive running away due to temper, disappointment, or what is called badness. The sudden tantrums of a spoiled child and the revenge motive by which the parents are thrown into a panic as a result of the child's disappearance have nothing in common with the flight of the adolescent from the environment. For this an adaptation by other means seems at the time impossible. The accumulated impulses which finally lead to purposive action and to the actual conduct of flight answer to some deep need, and apparently awaken the flight instinct more as a release from the immediate pressure of circumstances than for the pursuance of any well-defined or conceived plan.

There is a type of adolescent wanderer which should not be confused with the figure of the adolescent in flight. This type represents also an atavistic instinctive set of reactions, but it depends upon an entirely different set of mechanisms, suggesting something abnormal and pathological. The phenomenon considered here is well within the normal limits of any adolescent in his striving to fulfill the demands of his scarcely recognized antagonisms between the circumstances of his life and the figure he conceives himself to be. The flight of the adolescent is usually short in duration and, as has been pointed out, he returns to his own environment in no way changed as far as externals are concerned. He usually finds a way of fitting himself to his environment without difficulty or at least so it appears to the observer. Something, however, has occurred which changes his attitude, something that answers a demand and satisfies the urge of an experiment. Perhaps there is a feeling of the futility of struggling to solve a problem which is only faintly perceived and only dimly felt. Something has been done and thereafter something else must be attempted—something of a gradual adaptation rather than a sudden flight. It is strange that there are not more instances of this type of release and that there are not, suggests that perhaps in adolescence as a whole the sense of pressure and restriction is not acutely enough felt. The sudden going away is all the release that is essential. In a general way the flight of the adolescent is a harmless piece of conduct, the chief importance of which is the illumination it throws on the conflict process.

In studying adolescent groups and watching their progress through the conflict stage into that of final adaptation, the observation that there is a group which shows a striking placidity of temperament and lack of disturbance is justified. There is often an apparent peace of mind and an apparent sense of satisfaction that seems strangely out of place in a mental process that is so filled with emotion as an adaptative struggle out of a conflict. In this form of escape there is a kind of intellectual complaisance that is difficult to understand unless the mechanism which produces it is appreciated. Such adolescents do not belong to the class of the conformists. Their characteristic lies in the fact that their adaptation has been accounted for and explained by rationalizing the situation until what they have done appears the best thing that could be done. It is not the automatic fitting in of the previously described group, but the fitting in with the addition of the persuasive quality that goes with rationalization. Rationalization is a process of adaptation that belongs more fittingly to the mature than to the adolescent mind, but it cannot be doubted that there are definite traces of it in the adolescent period. The process by which the environment is seen in a better light and a more favorable opinion of it obtained by conscious reasoning from the viewpoint of personal profit, with the result of giving up the struggle for adaptation, can be described as an adolescent type of rationalization. There is something in the adolescent which fights against a too easy, or perhaps a too simple solution of his problem. In order to satisfy this tendency a process of mental adjustment is called into play which is the rationalization process. There is nothing new in the use that is thus made of a mental mechanism which arises in a simple form in the pre-adolescent years. Reference to this has already been made in previous chapters. A part of the mental mechanism carried over from childhood, and perhaps even earlier than this, is recalled into activity. All the old pieces of psychological machinery are used over and over again, but with greater facility.

The rationalizing adolescent is a figure that should be recognized and approached with as clear an understanding as possible. That figure is disappointing and much less sympathetic a figure than the real conformist. He is much nearer to the adult type also. Rationalization is such a common feature of the conflict solution of the adult that its appearance in adolescence is a bit out of the picture, even if its results are often satisfactory. Of course it is understood that rationalization is just one of the factors in this kind of escape and that pointing it out serves merely the purpose of typifying a group rather than of explaining a mechanism.

Of greater interest is the consideration of another purely intellectual method of escape and one that interests the educator or parent much more. This is best described as the cultivation of a special interest. As the adolescent looks at his environment and reacts from that contemplation by only a languid interest or even indifference or dislike, fear, and other emotional reactions that have been described, he seeks for some sort of substitute that may possibly absorb some of the uncomfortable features which bother him. Without looking too much within himself and not permitting his interest to depart too far from the world of reality, he is stimulated in seeking something in the world of his environment which he might follow for his own sake and for the interest which it excites. With an intense and excessive enthusiasm he forms a liking for this or that subject, for this or that activity, and concentrates all of his power upon it.

These special interests may be queerly selected and appear often trivial. They are seemingly not related to any previous experience and appear to spring out of a clear sky or are so difficult to trace that they might almost have been chosen by chance. They may often be entirely out of line with capacity or ability and their pursuit frequently can end in nothing but failure. On the other hand they represent desires and wishes that lead back to childhood, to dreams of capacity or fulfillment of vague plans. Then they sometimes represent a real need or are seemingly designed to fill a need. A vague desire to be a writer, a very common wish in the adolescent period, may influence the cultivation of an interest in literature or practice in composition or along any conceivable pathway in creative imagination. The impulse towards concentrated activity is usually without design and represents no definite choice. The impetus with which it is pursued is its outstanding feature. It is often possible to trace back to its origin these specialized interests and it is surprising from what small beginnings some of them evidently spring. A chance remark, a phrase in a book, some figure actually seen, much more often heard, may start the adolescent on his course with a feverishness of interest that is not duplicated in any later period of life.

It is the lack of a selective and carefully planned choice that differentiates this sort of thing from similar activities of later life, as well as the great absorption that at least for a time shuts out all other or almost all other concerns. The more temporary the interest the more satisfactory becomes the adjustment, as if the temper of the reaction frees the adolescent from the sense of strife rather more than would continuous activity. A more gradually awakened interest is less effective. The number of special interests observed in this type of escape are too varied to mention. They involve almost any sort of activity, from collecting useless things to the most ambitious flights into arts and sciences. The importance lies in the effect upon the adolescent and his adjustment rather than on the value or the kind of thing that he does. It is perhaps of all the escapes the most useful and the most beneficial, because it is a translation of an emotional upset into some active form of conduct with the transference of emotion into a definite pathway of possible accomplishment. This phenomenon is so common and is so frequently observed that it is not necessary to do more than suggest its importance. The special interest awakened is not significant and the direction it may take or the way it may lead are relatively indifferent matters. The fact that such an interest is temporary, that it may soon be forgotten, does not lessen its value as an escape mechanism, serving to bridge over a difficult situation and preventing an *impasse* which might in some cases have disastrous consequences. The escape through an interest pursued for a long or short time, as the case may be, serves merely as a device by means of which an adolescent is shoved forward to an adaptation that perhaps otherwise might not have been secured and furnishes the necessary involvement of what appears to be personal selection rather than automatic and helpless conformity. The conflict is thus satisfied by an activity in line with the origin of that state and causes enough of the feeling of satisfaction in the thing done as well as the purpose of doing it to make more easy the rest of the adaptative process.

CHAPTER XVIII

FURTHER METHODS OF ESCAPE: INDUSTRY, DREAMS, DELINQUENCY, SUICIDE

THE escape mechanism of industry requires consideration apart from that of an environmental fact. Many things that at first seem merely the difficult elements in an environment turn out to be, paradoxical as it may seem, channels through which the adolescent can escape from the problems that the environment presents. Adolescent as well as adult conflicts are often solved by becoming an active participant in the conflict itself and thus losing the attitude of opposition and the feeling of antagonism. This is another way of saying that adjustment comes about in the process of merging. So it is with industry and so it happens that the conflict stimulated by industry becomes after a while a means of escape not only for that in itself but for other things as well.

In an earlier chapter the fate of the industrially directed adolescent was touched upon, chiefly from the environmental point of view. The adolescent forced into industry, or electing to enter, was regarded as following a usual and common procedure in this country at this time. If the adolescent is studied with escape motives in mind, whatever he does and however he carries on can be so interpreted; thus his industrial experience may be regarded as one of the methods through which he compromises with the environment. In this sense an escape takes place and a solution is reached. The chief significance of the participation of the adolescent in industry lies in the pattern and standardization of the final result. Viewed in a broad way, business and industry, the latter regarded here as the productive side, mold the adolescent in that pattern of activity which best fits the idea of efficiency in the particular task he is given to do. This pattern is not merely concerned with the outward characteristics of the particular job, but with the formulation of views, opinions, and the general attitude of the group. The necessity for the presence of the adolescent in industry is not to be denied. Economic pressure rather than choice is the explanation. The fact that our culture and civilization are primarily industrial, as is much of our education, forces the great mass of adolescents into that part of the environment which offers an easy solution to the material difficulties confronting almost any family in the lower economic levels. This is a fact to be faced and not to be theorized about. It is the world as it is at the present time that must be thought of not only in regard to the adolescent, but to all the rest of us.

The adolescent conflict is in this way seen as a project that is nipped before it has a chance to mature and the adolescent is thus adapted by the force and power of something entirely outside of himself. This is stronger than anything arising in his own consciousness. Industry by concentrating upon the individual, succeeds in stamping its pattern before any objection to it reaches the level of revolt. The adolescent becomes a part of a machine and as long as he keeps time with it, adjusting his tone and pitch to its note, there is no jarring. The path forward and the climb upward is provided. Adjustment becomes a matter of constant habit and the adolescent conflicts, whatever their nature may be, are toned down to the level of a worker's existence. It is difficult to see traces of adolescence in the adolescent worker. This is particularly so in the factory worker. In the many jobs that are open to the adolescent boy or girl there is little chance to carry out more than required and routine duties. The dulling effect of this is as evident as its necessity. In this world there are certain things that must be done by the adolescents of the world. They are of such a nature that little chance can be given for anything more than the routine and necessary features of the things to be done. The adolescent belongs to that huge group of human beings that must do that big share of the world's work which can only be done under the spur and necessity of economic pressure. There is little choice or selection. It must be done or the industrial organization would come to a sudden stop. Machinery demands for its smooth working a certain number of human beings attached to the machine and the adolescents are forced to contribute to this quota. They are pushed there by economic forces not to be resisted. No other organization of society seems for the present, at least, as feasible. Its routine work is carried out by a lower stratum of beings. Levels may shift from generation to generation or in one generation, but there is always the higher and the lower. It is from the lower, or underprivileged levels, that the adolescent enters industry, escaping from the conflicts that his environment produces. This escape merits attention, because it furnishes the formula for the greatest number, by far outweighing in sheer importance all other methods of escape added together.

A temporary phase of almost all adolescents is found in the creation of an inner world. Phantasy and imagination form a kind of retreat into which the adolescent enters whenever the world of reality appears to be too confusing and too full of difficulties. The form and the content of this world differ in each individual and there are no elements common to all of them. They are peopled by diverse figures, and activities go on there of the most varied sort. The activities in that world may reflect something of the actual experiences or contacts derived from daily life and they may on the other hand have nothing at all to do with it. This inner world can mirror the wishes and the desires of the adolescent and then again it may be different from anything that he has ever wanted or liked or thought of. The one fact that stands out in all the pictures of the fantastic world is that the adolescent lives there unafraid and master. The hero of that place is the adolescent himself, and in this rôle he plans and regulates his actions unrestrained or influenced by the pressure of things. This inner world is always ready and close at hand, forming a retreat that requires no effort to enter. It may be lived in while all sorts of other tasks and duties are going on. It offers a stimulating activity while many routine things are being attended to. In the presence of disagreeable and uncomfortable necessities of a social kind an active imaginary existence is easily possible. Work of a sort may go on while the world of fancy is busy in its secondary task of dissociating the adolescent from reality. A sharp line must be drawn between this absolutely normal adolescent reaction and the pathological or abnormal dream world from which it is impossible to withdraw. The line of demarcation lies in the fact that the escape to a creation of the inner life is only temporary and that it touches reality on all sides. The normal adolescent sees it as a world of dreams and nothing else. He is perfectly aware both of its unreality and its very evident purpose. This type of escape is harmless when not allowed to develop at the expense of the world in which he must live. The tangibility of the external setting of his life, its realness and its practical aspect are all sensed at the same time that he enters into that other world out of which he gets all the available escape stimulus. There is a shifting ground between dream and reality that permits wandering in either territory and a nice balance between the two that stands in the way of too great an interest in the one at the expense of the other. It is this proportionate relation between the two worlds, that of reality and that of imagination, that prevents the adolescent from dwelling too exclusively in the one which often seems the more alluring. There is generally a sufficient interest in and enough concern with the real things of existence to keep from overdeveloping the tendency of making too much of the dream. Between the two the permanent choice tends generally to the existing world. In the presence of the adolescent's escape through the creation of a life apart from reality, the question arises as to the beneficial effect of this kind of dissociation and as to the limits to which it should be permitted to go. The test is difficult to apply in any given case. There is also the question in regard to measures through which it may be stopped if there is evidence of too great an interest in the world of unreality.

The test of the normal lies in the amount of control in relation to conduct which the dream life appears to exert in comparison with that exercised by the actual environment. If the adolescent shows evidence through his conduct that he is responding more and more to the impulses and to the content of the unreal part of himself and less and less to legitimate environmental demands then the danger line is approached and something should be done. On the other hand, if the facts, experiences, tasks, and pleasures of the world as it is, exercise their usual influence there is no need for concern. The dream existence is then nothing more than a temporary escape from the unlovely details of the environment. Moods, conduct, states of prolonged abstraction, increasing indifference, and a growing sense of superiority should be warning enough.

It is not the simple fact of the existence of a world unshared in respect to content that need cause worry but rather the intrusion of that other world into the facts of everyday existence. The mingling of the two is a tendency that may be dangerous. From the dream world there can arise a habit of indulgence that after a while does away with normal inhibitions and forms a sort of vicious circle in the intricacies of which the adolescent may be caught until there exists no world at all but that of unreality. This world, too, is capable of organization and in its adolescent setting it partakes somewhat of the stereotyped and rigid quality of the world of actuality. It becomes peopled by a stiff lot of figures while events occur there along conventional lines and are as uninteresting and unoriginal as those of the world from which escape is sought. When this stage has been reached the attractiveness of the dream world declines and there is a growing tendency to seek refuge rather in the tangible activities of the world of things than in the lessening charm of the other kind. The dream as an escape from reality has served its purpose as a temporary refuge and the adolescent continues the process of gradual and progressive adaptation according to circumstance and necessity.

The adolescent world of unreality does not end with adolescence. Many adults have such a world, and its continuous elaboration becomes one of the facts of their lives. Its organization is however fluctuating and it becomes a sort of companion world in which much contemplation is carried out. It is not important as the similar fabrication is to the adolescent. It is more of the nature of a pleasant pastime than the frequent necessity of the adolescent, more a matter of emphasis than of kind. To the adolescent it may mean more than anything else, while to the adult it is incidental, existing more as a curiosity than a necessity.

The various escape devices that have just been considered are those of the normal and average adolescent. They have no features that even in a remote way suggest the pathological and the abnormal, though slight traces may be found in most adolescents as well as in most other people. They serve chiefly as temporary schemes to assist in the social adaptation which the newly awakened consciousness of the environment demands. When they are carried to an excessive stage or if they succeed in driving the adolescent beyond the bounds of adaptative demands, states of mind and types of conduct may arise that are so much out of the way and depart so much from their real purpose that a definitely abnormal stage is reached. It is more advantageous to consider these from their origins than from their end-results. All types of conduct whether socially profitable or antisocial in effect are so for definite reasons and occur as the consequences of knowable factors. That only a small percentage is at present knowable is a commentary rather on our ignorance and defective technique of investigation than upon the truth of this statement.

There are types of adolescent escape that are so antisocial and so harmful to the community and to the individual that they must be regarded as abnormal and as such warrant an inquiry along medical lines. An escape that arises out of an antisocial attitude so developed that it becomes translated into antisocial acts, bringing the adolescent into actual and personal conflict with the customs, traditions, and laws of the community, must be looked upon as indicating at least a pathological trend. The term pathological is perhaps too strong but at any rate something has occurred that calls for rigid scrutiny. Such acts as a whole are called delinquent and there is no more important aspect of the adolescent in relation to the social organization than the consideration of acts of this kind. Out of the adolescent delinquent the adult criminal customarily develops. The antecedents of delinquency may often be traced far back to periods long before adolescence. The delinquency is often no more than the culmination of a series of acts and attitudes which have escaped scrutiny because of their seeming triviality. At the time that such acts are carried out it is well-nigh impossible to draw a line of distinction between those that will end in a final delinquency and those that are harmless and purely transient happenings. The test of the antisocial quality of any act is difficult, especially if all the elements that go toward its performance are weighed. A constantly recurring series of antisocial acts, however, creates a tendency or habit. It is this that gives a clew to the interpretation of future conduct types.

From this present consideration, of course, are excluded all types of conduct arising out of a definitely diseased or a defective mind, or any of the manifold defects in development, due to disease, infection, congenital states, traumatism, etc. The consideration of these states, as they produce abnormal types of conduct, belong to a different category and require an entirely different approach.

The delinquent as well as the criminal develops from many sources and his acts can sometimes be explained by many causative factors. There is no one essential antisocial factor, certainly nothing that can be called a universal cause. There is too much accidental, too much that is associated with individual experience and the chance of time, propinquity, suggestion, companionship, and all the other factors that cause, change, and influence conduct, to permit of a single or a universal explanation. That the period of adolescence is favorable for the development of antisocial types of conduct is clear, because it is then that the environment becomes a more definite fact in consciousness. It is then that the fact of its antagonism becomes a clearly defined idea. Revolt and conflict are stimulators of opposing conduct and it is easy to understand how a series of such acts could definitely drive the adolescent into a permanent antisocial attitude.

The escape mechanism of the adolescent offers the best understanding of why the causes that produce a delinquent in one case do not do so in many others. That antisocial conduct has its origins in an impulse to escape the rigid bonds of the environment seems to be clear enough. The organization of antisocial conduct reactions into an habitual tendency over which the individual has apparently little control is not so easily explained. Recognition of the fact of its existence is, however, a step towards understanding. Emphasis should be given to the fact that conduct, whether antisocial or socially conforming, cannot be studied apart from the individual. Crime or delinquency does not exist, except as a legal symbol, apart and outside of its individual performance. Crime is what is done, not what is thought about. It is something put into action and has little or no reference to mental content during or preceding the act. The fact that crime, or that kind of antisocial act which is so regarded, does not necessarily spring from disordered intelligence is particularly in need of emphasis at the present time. The adolescent delinquent or criminal requires investigation from another angle and his antisocial conduct should be viewed as entirely apart from the necessary consequences in the matter of social punishment.

A good deal of the apparently abnormal conduct of adolescence lies in the region of personal defense or personal protection. There is little trace of productive antagonism or any marked tendency to attack or to direct performances against his environment. In other words he is seldom moved to any sort of violent action or any kind of destructive purpose. When, however, the seemingly unimportant types of antisocial conduct begin to pile up and finally produce acts with which society must concern itself, then the relation of these acts to the delinquency trend must be faced. It is obvious that another factor has entered into the problem and what at first appears to be nothing more than the usual escape device becomes something more important from the point of view of the adolescent as well as of society. It is important to keep the distinction in mind that the escape the adolescent seeks is an escape that leads to some sort of solution, some sort of adaptation. When, on the other hand, it leads to a more desperate environmental *impasse* then something appears quite different from the adolescent mechanism as such. The whole of the adjustment, which is held to be the meaning and reason for adolescence in its psychological aspect, is destroyed and the adolescent follows the self-destructive tendency so emphatically a characteristic of certain types of mental abnormality. In this instance the self-destruction happens to be of a social and not of a physical nature. The distinguishing features must be sought in the end-result rather than in the early behavior. The test cannot be applied in the beginnings of the escape activities because they differ little from those of any adolescent and are scarcely distinguishable from them. It is the habit-forming tendency of a series of antisocial doings which is significant in turning the adolescent into a delinquent. Theft, assault, sexual, and other criminal acts are not typical adolescent phenomena, but entirely at variance to them. The escape of the adolescent along the paths of delinquency means that the adjusting period characteristic of that age has been transformed into something entirely foreign to it and that the escape device has been altered so that no escape is possible and an entirely opposite result is attained. In this sense there is no adolescent delinquency and no adolescent criminal. What is meant is that certain acts and certain pieces of conduct occurring in what is roughly interpreted to be the adolescent period, as far as age is concerned, are typified as being in some way due to the changes and alterations that are commonly thought to occur at such a time. The adolescent is to be regarded rather as an instrument through which these acts are brought about, not as the predisposing cause, direct or indirect. Antisocial acts are limited to no period of life and those occurring in the adolescent period should be examined as particular facts of social reaction and not as specific instances of the influence of adolescent alteration. The escape of the adolescent through delinquency should then be regarded rather as an escape that leads to further and more serious difficulties and finally to social destruction, caused by the absolute failure of the individual to adjust himself. The antisocial trends of the human race are exemplified in the figure of the adolescent; the adolescent does not himself produce these antisocial trends.

There have always been instances of suicide in the adolescent period. From time to time there has seemed to be an increase in the number of suicides. There are places and countries where adolescent suicides are numerous and other places where their occurrence is so rare that much is made of them. Whenever attention is called to the fact that a number of suicides have occurred, a great deal of uninformed discussion is stimulated. The theory is advanced that it is an epidemic associated with the particular features of the age. The contemporary social defects and faults are called upon to explain what essentially is a perfectly normal percentage.

Suicide is a normal escape method in all ages and at all periods of man's life. The act itself forms its abnormal and often pathological aspect. The thought of suicide and even the impulse towards self-destruction is as normal a biological device as any other, and springs from the need to get away from environmental difficulties or from those that seem to arise from within because of environmental causations.

Suicide as an escape is theoretically a perfect solution in the sense that it removes once for all not only the conflict but the victim as well. In this way it is a complete and final piece of conduct. Its perfection is, however, its greatest failure. Without conflict a living organism only partly and feebly exists. The removal of that stimulus means practically nonexistence. Biologically considered, there is something fundamentally wrong in this type of escape. The defect lies in the fact that the fundamental instinct of self-preservation and the impulse to live are totally submerged. Except in very unusual circumstances suicide must be interpreted as arising out of a fundamental defect in consciousness through which these primary instincts are temporarily in abeyance. It is for this reason, and this alone, that adolescent suicide must be regarded as an abnormal act and one that requires a special scrutiny of its own. Very often suicide in the adolescent period is thought to be due to some incident or series of incidents which exercise sufficient power to neutralize the instincts of self-preservation and those allied with it. Thwarted ambition, disappointment, inability to live up to the expectations of parents or friends, feelings of despondency due to this or that, are some of the causes mentioned. In the recent history of adolescent suicides there are frequently found experiences, generally of a social nature, which are interpreted as probable causes, chiefly for the reason that they produced so profound an emotional effect that depressive states of great intensity appeared to follow. Explanations of this sort are not satisfactory.

The content of the adolescent's mind at the time of the suicide or immediately preceding would throw the necessary light on the difficult question as to motive and purpose. A piling up of impressions and their organization with the necessary emotional loading are the compelling forces which drive him to the conduct which appears to be the logical answer. Anticipated failure rather than actual failure creates the suicidal mind—the fear of the impossibility of adjustment rather than the attempt and unsuccessful issue. Many indirect influences exert their persuasive power. The historical rôle of suicide is one of them. Drama, history, and biography contain numerous instances of escape from the difficulties of adjustment through suicide. The impress of this ancient scheme as a solution for impossible situations takes hold of the adolescent mind with force enough to topple him from the edge of doubt and thus to grasp at a release that has all the finality of a complete solution. There is the biological impulse to self-destruction which is a sort of anticipation of a definitely felt inevitable fate. The suggestive effect of accounts of suicides in the daily papers are given as possible explanations by those who seek to find reasons for things in conventional statements. The imitative factor plays a greater rôle in the attitude of the explainer than in that of the adolescent. In the depressive moods common to so many adolescents the combined influence of many factors do succeed in inhibiting the normal checks to self-destruction. This leaves the adolescent free to carry out an act which is directly opposed to all the normal features of that period. Adolescence, viewed from whatever angle, is definitely constructive in tendency. Anything that seems to drive the adolescent into contrary paths is lacking in the specific characteristics of this age.

On the other hand suicides do occur in the adolescent period and though they may be no more numerous than in any other period of life and though the proportion of their occurrence is in no degree alarming yet it is desirable to make some effort to explain why they occur at all. It is illogical to assume that every adolescent who commits suicide is by that fact to be regarded as of unsound mind. Nor is there ground for believing that defective intelligence is an important factor. The same sort of reasoning would have to apply to the adult who carries out self-murder as a direct answer to a series of circumstances and situations in life which he dares not face. When the effect of them on himself and others becomes unthinkable there is no other way out for him than disappearance from life. The logical suicide in this sense occasions no surprise when the facts become known. The suicide arising from despair, which is another way of saying that adaptation has become impossible, cannot be explained on the assumption that a mental state has resulted so impairing normal responsibility that for a time it ceases to exist. Suicide resulting from pathological states of depression is really a symptom of that disease just as are many other defects of intelligence or conduct. Such conditions of disordered intellect are not within the scope of the present consideration. States of despair, resulting from the failure or anticipated failure in meeting the environmental demands, occur occasionally so intensely that for the time being the adolescent cannot control his conduct and suicide takes place almost automatically. The appearance of such states necessitates some consideration of the adolescent psychoses in a future chapter.

The great majority of adolescent suicides belong to what has been called the logical group. There is no disturbance as far as the various functions of intelligence are concerned. The facts, conclusions, and deductions are, however, not guided by the proper faculties of judgment and there is lacking the necessary sense of proportion. These are in the main the defects of the adolescent mind in the awakening of the conscious attitude to the necessity of environmental adjustment. There is wanting the orientation through which normal relations between the individual and the environment are reached. When there develops as a result that degree of despair, hopelessness, and mental pain, then the thought of suicide and the conduct reaction that leads to it are the result. All of this is caused by the faulty organization of the mental content rather than by any influence exerted by this or that immediate happening. The causes leading up to such a result are manifold, some clear enough and others escaping identification. Wrong ideas made to appear right through the influence of others, information that is manifestly and often cruelly wrong in regard to sexual matters, social ambitions misplaced as to their value, exaggerated ideas of ability due to the pride of others, previous successes of family friends, false ideas about health and physical development, ideas of sin, and a host of similar things help to create as false a world of ideas as the fantastic world already described. The adolescent mind, which should be one of elasticity and plasticity, becomes one of rigidity. Stupid opposition, lack of environmental understanding, implantation of the ideas of others, spurious ambitions, false evaluations—these are some of the elements which have transformed the adolescent period. If some of these causes or others of a like kind do not appear in the average case of adolescent suicide then there is some underlying factor, physical or mental, which for some reason or other has unfortunately not been apparent enough to have attracted the attention of those near the adolescent.

CHAPTER XIX

MENTAL DERANGEMENT

TO consider the escape of the adolescent through the development and elaboration of a psychosis might appear, at first sight, as something of a paradox. Sometimes the adolescent, instead of making an escape and then an adjustment through devices well within the normal as far as mental activities are concerned, makes them through the devious pathways of a frankly abnormal mental state. Here again the escape is socially and often physically detrimental. It is an escape through so definite a change in personality that it has all or many of the characteristics of a psychosis. If this personality change is permanent, the escape comes through the substitution of some other figure—and often a strange figure. If the change is only temporary and the adolescent regains his former personal characteristics then the escape is through the abnormal changes which have been produced. It is the mechanism of escape and not the result that is important. Even in such a treatment of the adolescent problem as has been formulated, it is essential to consider, in at least a superficial way, the two important mental diseases which may under certain circumstances spring into life as a result of adolescent alterations. No psychiatric study is intended, but it is necessary to point out that many of the adolescent phenomena are strikingly similar to the manifestations of two very important mental diseases which, developing often after the adolescent period, can be traced back to the adaptative difficulties not then completely solved. It is possible to make the mechanisms of these conditions clear so that they stand out in relation to the adolescent as possible channels into which his more normal reactions may be diverted. In the organization of every mind there are abnormal as well as normal tendencies. There are checks and controls which ordinarily act as preventive mechanisms when the abnormal tendencies appear to be getting the upper hand. It is merely the utilization of what is there, uncontrolled by the normally working checks and directing influences, which results in rare instances in the production of abnormal mental states. The complete study of any individual must consider his deviation tendencies as well as his normal trends, and this is equally so in the attempt to understand an adolescent.

The two diseases of the mind, developing either in the adolescent period or later, which are derived directly out of the turning away from the normal of the adolescent, are manic-depressive insanity and that pathological development of a world of unreality and its control of thought and conduct called dementia præcox. These terms themselves mean little because neither of them expresses more than a slight trace of the mental change taking place to cause the outward alterations in personality and the alterations in conduct that typify these conditions. The labels which are given to them are useful for descriptive purposes only and they are used here without the slightest intention of clinical or pathological implication. It makes little difference whether or not any notion or concrete idea of these diseases in a clinical sense is obtained, but it is important that something of their mechanisms and the why and wherefore of their organization should be understood. It is from this that the knowledge, intelligent observation, and the wise handling of the adolescent from this point of view may be secured.

Knowledge of this kind is a contribution that should be furnished by mental hygiene and has the same degree of usefulness that any other hygienic activity may have. The analogy with tuberculosis comes to mind. It is not necessary for the intelligent handling of a case of tuberculosis by the family or community that any minute knowledge of the organisms of tuberculosis or the change in the lungs caused by them should be known. What is essential is to know something of what may be called the natural history of this disease in the old-fashioned meaning of this term. So it is with these conditions in mind that they are the objects of consideration. It is essential that the story of the development of symptoms as expressing changes in personality and mental content should be understood, so that the hygienic attitude may be intelligently and appropriately cultivated both in the adolescent and in those about him.

Manic-depressive psychosis is a pathological variation in mood or feeling in which the feelings of depression or exaltation alternate in a cycle more or less periodic and to a certain extent at fairly regular intervals. This disease is not an entity until the process has had sufficient time to develop into a sort of stereotyped picture of recurring rhythms. One attack of deep depression or one of exaltation does not constitute the disease, but the recurrence of these periodical alterations throughout the patient's adult life is characteristic. The alteration of mood may be of short duration or may be long and seemingly almost continuous. In fact only the depression or exaltation may appear. The type of emotional reaction is of little consequence. The picture of the depressed melancholy individual, indifferent to all outside stimulation, uninterested in all external contacts, sad in his expression, tearful and subdued is well known. What is perhaps not so well known is that in the manic-depressive there is a consciousness of a very distinct and disagreeably painful feeling which makes very real the fact that he is suffering from something that is in truth sickness but which he is not willing to admit as such. The elated, exalted, and excited individual is likewise well known. He presents the opposite of the picture just drawn. He is full of life, smiling, happy, and very active. He moves about almost continuously, laughs, talks, gesticulates, has a bright, active, energetic look, is agreeable, overdemonstrative, utterly uninfluenced by the character of his surroundings, unrestrained, uninhibited, and uncontrolled. These are the two extremes. The alteration of these types forms the picture of the disease, manic-depressive insanity. Suicide is a marked tendency of the depressed phase, antisocial or rather asocial conduct is characteristic of the overstimulated phase.

What makes of these mood alterations a psychosis is merely their emotional strength and persistence, and the ability of such states to control, alter, and deviate conduct.

Mood variations are a part of the emotional life of every one. Neither their depth, variety, nor consequences upon conduct are in any sense abnormal. The ups and downs of feeling, the rhythm of pain and pleasure are normal emotional responses. Feeling is a necessary part of almost any experience above the average and usual level. Variations of mood are the responses in the feeling zone of adolescents to externally originating experiences. These effects arising from the swings of mood up to the cheerful or down to the depressed level depend upon the experiences and the emotion attached to them. When, however, the emotional rhythm swings in either direction totally uninfluenced by the kind, variety, or type of experience and if the feeling tone of and by itself exerts a continuous influence unmodified by the happenings of the world then there exists the beginning of an abnormal mental state. If this becomes continuous and permanent then there is a start toward a psychosis. It is much more important to be able to recognize this than to understand how it comes about. It is in the very beginning that steps can successfully be taken to halt its progress. Once it is firmly established, the task is much more difficult. There are certain rather crude tests by which the approach of ordinary mood variations to the abnormal can be detected. If, in the depressed states, there is observed a continuous and unceasing concern with the future and if that future always appears to be without hope, if there seems to be no chance of even a temporary adjustment and if effort seems to be much less worth while than indifference, then the mood of depression is something more than a downward swing of the emotional rhythm. The degree and the seriousness of the depression may be measured somewhat by the intimacy with which the thought of self-destruction is regarded. Impulses of this kind almost always accompany profound depression. When that idea stands out nakedly, shorn of everything else except the relief that death may bring as an escape and if that escape project is automatic, compelling, and almost instinctive, then the line between the normal and abnormal has been passed over.

Too much importance should not be given to simple depressive states as such. These may be in the nature of personal characteristics, having to do with physical expression at the level of organic functioning. They may have little to do with mental states as symptoms or signs of something fundamentally wrong. They may be explained on the basis that the organism as a whole is functioning below its normal level because the various activities of the body, stimulated into a too rapid and excessive progression, are too heavy a load to bear. The adolescent then has the feeling of organic inferiority and inadequacy which, becoming conscious, makes him feel his own incompetency. The condition of hopelessness that follows is easily understood both by the adolescent and those in whom he confides. All this is so clear-cut and natural and the remedy is so plain that no concern need be felt and the outlook is always hopeful.

On the other hand when the depression is associated with ideas of self-accusation and blame and when the feeling of personal guilt infiltrates almost all thoughts, tincturing streams of ideas and filling the remote recesses of mental life, then there is a psychosis imminent. It is above all the association of ideas of guilt with the self, the ego concern with the stain of guilt, that forms the substance of a psychosis. The world of reality and experience are completely dissociated from the ideas of self-blame and this is no longer tested by the actual things that have come into the adolescent's world of experience. In arriving at some estimate of the depth of these ideas and the hold they seem to have it is necessary to find out how much they may be influenced by argument and what power persuasion may exert. The normal individual is easily persuaded that he is not bad and he strives always to maintain his self-esteem. Efforts to make him believe in his own innocence are gratefully received. He rather exaggerates than minimizes the importance of proofs to that end. The individual who is in the grip of an abnormal depression is not moved or influenced by proof or conviction no matter how logical, clear, or forcible the statements. The persistence of the idea of personal guilt in the face of proof to the contrary is suggestive of a fundamental error in the mechanism of normal thinking. It is this fundamental obscuration of the normal tendency to think well of one's self that is one of the chief characteristics of the state of abnormal depression. Such, then, are some of the indications both in mental content and in conduct which appear in the preliminary phases of a depression to point to the ultimate development of a psychosis.

The swing upward into the states of exaltation can be recognized by a like group of personal traits. Many can be interpreted as the consequences of the separation from the world of actual experiences and the lack of modification which this world usually exercises on conduct and mental content. The overstimulated adolescent shows happiness, cheerfulness, and intense pleasurable reactions irrespective of environmental happenings; these are indications that the logical emotional responses to events have been distorted. In this stage of the upward swing of mood the adolescent, in his conduct, reflects only his own emotional state and that state tends to spread and color the world of actual happenings about him. The standards of average behavior, built up through a series of inhibitions and controls, modified always by what actually is occurring at the moment, are altered to a fixed level of super-cheerfulness. He breaks all customs and habits which have hitherto been the directing guide of his conduct. He is noisy, demonstrative, talkative, boisterous, destructive, vulgar, excitable. The mental processes are accelerated, attention and concentration are difficult, he is distractable, suggestible, and cannot do consecutive thinking. There is such a distinct alteration in typical conduct and change in personality traits that the attention of others is attracted. To determine just where the abnormal begins and where the normal ends is as difficult at this stage as it was in the case of the depressed type.

The study of conduct is more important than that of mental content. The adolescent's conduct ordinarily is molded by the environment to a state of rigidity and convention. The average adolescent, as far as his external characteristics are concerned, is a conventional type. The contrast between this and the unconventional and bizarre conduct in the excited phases of a manic-depressive alteration is striking and often alarming. The impulse to this change in conduct is in the mood variations so common at this period. These alone do not cause nor can they of themselves cause a psychosis. There are other factors entering into the problem, factors that are often impossible to identify and interpret. As in the depressed states there is much to say in favor of a theory that concerns itself with personality make-up. The essential elements that are originally laid down in the physical structure, the type and kind of nervous answer to external stimuli, are to be considered. It may have to do with the phenomenon of growth or even strike down to the deeper layers of inheritance trends. Emotion is difficult to define. Whatever it is, in some individuals, at least, its responses always seem to be excessive in relation to the causes which invoke them. This excessiveness comes to be a part of that person. It is one of his distinguishing traits. The emotion itself is not inheritable but its display may well be. This may be due to an inherited quickness of nervous action and to a tendency to involve a larger spread of reflexes for the same stimulus.

The so-called nervous types are categories of individuals that respond energetically, promptly and overmuch to all sorts of external happenings. The nervous system in this class of people is more generally attuned to environmental changes and responds to them excessively. This sort of make-up, properly guided, controlled, and guarded by the necessary inhibiting influences, forms an admirable instrument for the most constructive and useful type of adaptation. Unfortunately this type is exposed to the same kind of unwise, unintelligent, and badly devised environment as are all other types. As a result of this lack of choice or selection, the environment reacts more harmfully upon such a type than it can possibly upon the more average and common types. All of them suffer but the more delicately organized the nervous system is, the more harm results. If such a nervous system is a matter of parental inheritance then the immediate personal surroundings partake of identical characteristics and the adolescent with a nervous system likely to be overbalanced is in contact with nervous systems that have the same tendencies. He lives among them and has in most instances done so all his life.

In some such way as this the emotional overdevelopment of this type of adolescent may be said to be due to a small percentage of inheritance and a large percentage of environment. The effect is to be seen in the adolescent period, which in this sense may be regarded as the first important test of the stability of the nervous system, when emotional reactions are naturally quickened on account of rapid growth and the complete functioning of the glands of internal secretion. Some of these are seemingly endowed with the function of emotional stimulus as well as growth and sexual activity. The emotional swings in either direction, depression or overstimulation, afford a favorable soil upon which a psychosis may be implanted, grow, and become definitely organized. At this period of life there is need of a thoughtful consideration of this possibility, although only a small percentage of cases show such undesirable results. This then may be thought of as a part at least of the mechanism by which the instability of the emotional life of an adolescent may be crystallized into that form of mental disease which in adult life is called manic-depressive psychosis. It is likely that every individual with any kind of emotional endowment has within himself the possibility of becoming, under circumstances difficult to identify, a manic-depressive type. A properly planned childhood, a properly planned adolescent approach, and an intelligently organized adolescent period would very likely prevent any but the smallest percentage from ever developing a full-fledged mental disease.

For the disease called dementia præcox the adolescent period is full of fertile elements. The essential factor in this psychosis is the overdevelopment of a world outside and apart from reality. In this world the individual lives and becomes so removed from all external contacts that his conduct and his actions as well as the content of his mind are but little influenced by the events and the people who belong outside of it. When the withdrawal is complete or nearly so his actions partake of the strangeness and dimness of an almost dream existence. Such a person is incapable of taking part in the normal and average activities which a world of actual existence makes constantly necessary. He lives a life of inversion and the structural details of his personality reflect not the actuality of daily life but of one constructed out of the elements of which his own personal world is composed. Naturally his inhibitions, his activity patterns, and his conduct formulæ lose their relations to the varied experiences which have built them up. They happen automatically without regard to their proper place and with no respect to their proper qualifications. They seem queer, bizarre, illogical, and distorted. They are disconnected from the demands which a particular situation requires. The emotional life of such an individual has little relation to the logical requirements of an experience or with a thought structure aroused by one. Such a paradoxical state is caused by the fact that the emotion does not rise out of the feeling value of a happening or of a thought, but largely from something that takes its place in a world of unreality. Emotional values in such a case are derived from the organization of the material in the mind and they are not influenced by the actual conflict and contact with a living and vitally existing world. Intelligence and all the necessary attributes of intelligence are not, in the beginning at any rate, affected; memory, attention, concentration, insight are all there ready to be used or expressed but they are not called upon except as they are stimulated by the pressure of an internal existence the nature of which is hidden from every one but self. It is questionable just how much in such a case the adolescent is aware of the content of his own mind, so confused becomes its organization after a while. The externalization of this world is only seen in the distortion of himself as he is projected through his mannerisms into the environment. Those about him see his gestures, his uncouth and clumsy postures, his grimaces, his mouthings and facial caricatures much as if he were in the throes of a nightmare or under the influence of an anæsthetic. These cannot be understood or interpreted. It is impossible to know their meaning or what thoughts are behind them. When such a state becomes completely organized so that reality no longer means anything at all and has lost its influence, then the disease dementia præcox has become the living reality and all other existence is gone.

Such is the superficial mechanism and such is the picture presented. This outline should make it possible to distinguish the one disease from the emotional state previously described. It is readily understood that the beginnings of such a condition may well be observed in almost any normal adolescent. There is a tendency in the adolescent mechanism to just such withdrawals from the world of reality as the victim of dementia præcox continuously shows. The escape from reality through the structure of a world of dreams has been referred to and the difference between this and the abnormal has been pointed out. The temporary character of this in the adolescent has been emphasized. It seems to differ in degree rather than in quality, in depth rather than in kind. It is a pertinent inquiry as to the reasons why the dream world of an ordinary adolescent can be so changed that in a few instances it may become so pathological and abnormal that the danger of a psychosis is imminent. It is necessary, therefore, to point out the things that are of value in differentiating the two conditions. Such distinctions may be observed by any one intelligent enough to differentiate personal traits and to be aware of variations in conduct.

The points of difference are closely associated with the importance which reality exercises in the various manifestations that arise from the efforts of the adolescent to accommodate himself to difficult situations. In the dream fabrication of the normal adolescent there is not only an intrusion of unreality but also an evident grip on the affairs and doings of an actual world of evident existence. The grip is so fundamental that no matter how far the image and the recessive activities go this world retains its positive aspect. The adolescent is therefore aware that there is for him a dream existence and that he is living in it, partly because he wants to and partly because he is driven there by his rejection of the world of evidential things. The nature of this escape device is apparent and at no time does he forget that it is an imaginary plan and not a reality. It is this insight into his own affairs and his ability to differentiate the actual from the fancied that affirms the normality of the dream escape and differentiates it from the development of a psychosis which often appears somewhat like it. This differentiation is important not in a technical sense or on account of its psychiatric importance, but as an aid in understanding the dream tendencies of the adolescent. To those in contact with him the dream escape should be regarded as a perfectly harmless experiment and a perfectly logical device as long as it is infiltrated by that sense and feeling of reality which distinguish the normal-minded from his less-than-normal brother. The psychoses of the adolescent are only faintly touched upon in this chapter and for the reason that adolescence is too perfectly a normal happening to load its physiological course with a lot of improbable abnormal deviations. It is necessary to touch upon them because it is believed that even the small percentage of psychoses found in that period, when the whole of adolescence is considered, may be considerably reduced if those about can be made to understand that in the beginnings of unusual reactions there are some things that can be noted which should be a guide for a more logical handling of situations and their more expert control than can be obtained as a rule through the ordinary channels of school and home.

CHAPTER XX

ADOLESCENCE AS SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

THE most common questions asked of those concerned with problems of adolescence are in regard to their actual and practical handling. What to do, how to do it, when to begin, when to stop, and by whom should the initiative be undertaken? Interest is centered much more upon matters of this kind than upon the analysis of what adolescence is and how it came about. The average mother, father, teacher, social worker, or whoever it is that is interested in the adolescent, brings him for specific advice, not for information as to the genesis of the state itself. Why is it necessary to write so much about adolescence if there is nothing to be done about it? What value is all the understanding in the world if the adolescent is not to benefit in some way and if the conflicts that are said to be so important cannot be lessened or perhaps done away with altogether or so modified that no bad results follow? These are some of the questions asked. There is, too, a notion that adolescence is in some way to be guarded against, that preventive measures ought to be taken against something that is as vague, uncertain, and individual as anything in the developmental gamut of a human being. Much of this tendency is no doubt a result of the aftermath of an adolescent's more hazardous conflicts in which a trace of a scar or handicap remains. In such cases those directly concerned look back upon the adolescent adventure and wonder if anything could have been done in the way of avoiding or preventing or minimizing the damage that is so evident. In the comparatively few instances in which the adolescent has been wrecked, or almost so, there is much self-accusation and self-criticism on the ground that if such dire results had been anticipated something constructive might have been attempted. It is out of such experiences that questions arise as to the proper attitude and as to what can be done in the way of mitigating the conflict.

It is clear that some answer to these and many associated questions must be attempted before any work on adolescence may be said to have fulfilled its purpose or to have been in any sense worth while. Many books on adolescence are written with such a purpose primarily in mind and as a result there is a dogmatic and moralizing response to these questions that is a bit irritating. There is an apparent unwillingness to face the adolescent problem as one primarily concerned with the environment and the faults of our present social organization. Instead of facing adolescence as an environmental series of adjustments, they see something intrinsic in adolescence itself, something that can be met by a set of rules and regulations. This is particularly true of books which are permeated by and arise out of a fixed notion as to the primary factors concerned in the organization of the adolescent state. Theories concerned with heredity, sex glands, and the like, emphasize remedies associated with them. The sexual theory, for example, bases its constructive scheme upon sex information and education. The reader of such a book is led to feel that the regulation and direction of the sex life of an adolescent is all that should or can be done in the way of help. There is a steady tide of books representing various ways of looking at the problem. They are important not so much for the value of what they offer in the way of explanation and regulation, but rather because they are proof that adolescence is awakening more and more interest and that many minds of many differing opinions are busy in the attempt to understand something about it. No one can view the steady increase in the number of books on this subject without feeling that the adolescent as far as the literature about him is concerned has come into his own. It remains now to consider what advantage has come to the adolescent out of all this effort and how is he to benefit from the mass of work that his needs have instigated. Whether this has been artificially stimulated is not to the point; the fact remains that the books on adolescence are beyond counting and that the interest is widespread. Is there a possibility that the adolescent in his effort to adapt himself to his social environment can make use of the information that is steadily accumulating? The next two chapters will attempt to point out the utilization of what is now known and to open paths of further study for what is only partially clear. The conception of adolescence employed in this book is based upon the impulse toward social adjustment and the conscious effort which is demanded of the adolescent for its accomplishment. This idea should then be constantly kept in mind when the attempt is made to define the task which the adolescent and society must perform in order to soften the impact which takes place when this adjustment is demanded. The conflict sources should be well enough understood so that some success in mitigating their effect might be attained or at least some lessening of the mutual burden might be possible. This should be feasible especially in cases with favorable surroundings. It is necessary to approach this question from the two points of view, that is, of the adolescent and of his environment. By the adolescent in this instance is meant that average individual who has such a period to pass through and who possesses the qualities of the average boy or girl with no evident physical or mental defects which tend to complicate the ordinary physical or mental phenomena of this period in life. The average environment too must be considered and not the exceptional one that is found either far above or far below the common run of American family and social life. Such an environment is difficult to define and as difficult to describe, but the term "average" is sufficiently understood to identify what is here implied. As a matter of fact the variations found in American life of to-day do not on the whole separate one sort of environment from another except at the two extremes of the social and economic scale. The general principles which arise out of a consideration of the problem are applicable to almost every social level and what is useful in such an analysis should be applicable anywhere.

A kind of general biological conception of the problem of adolescence implies that it is an adjustment in the relation of the individual to an environment for which his adaptation is faulty and for which his previous experience, training, and education are not adequate. It is clear then that in dealing with a general vital problem of this nature the slight differences in the qualities of the environment as well as the individual adolescent differences need not be seriously considered. An adolescent hygiene is needed similar to the hygiene movements in other departments of health. General principles are applicable with slight variations to any individual, provided always that they are based upon sufficient observation and control. With these ideas in mind then consideration of the adolescent problem in the manner of constructive hygiene both from the point of view of the adolescent and of the environment is pertinent.

The environment of the adolescent has been considered in some detail in previous chapters and enough has been noted to suggest the many factors and their complex organization that make up this enclosing shell. It is obvious that many of these factors, no matter what difficulties they create in the life of the adolescent, cannot be altered or modified by any movement that might conceivably be set into activity by a study of the adolescent or by the demonstration, no matter how positive, of their incompatibility. So many of these elements are part and parcel of life as it is now organized that nothing short of some social upheaval could alter them. Industry, government, religion, and all the subsidiary factors which these touch are unalterable as institutional elements. They are positive and clear-cut aspects of the life of every one, in which no change is likely to occur in the near future. As the adolescent of the present is the theme of this inquiry it is of little value to speculate on the future adolescent when the social fabric has been altered. The sole elements in the environment that can be expected to be changed by any sort of hygiene appeal are the human beings that make up its plastic side; through them alone can modification or differentiation be accomplished by changes in their conduct and personal relations. Only in this way can the rigid environmental institutions be in a measure personalized and made less rigid by their reinterpretations along the channels of human understanding and appreciation.

For example, the school as a rigid environmental structure can be brought into relation with the adolescent as personal interpretations of knowledge, information, love of learning, delight in beauty, artistic interpretation, and enjoyment of the finer cultural value of things. To begin with, the school is logical enough because, to many an adolescent, there is nothing that stands out as so formative as this institution in which he spends so many hours of his developing life. Education should be among other things a great adaptive mechanism and the chief reason for education should be found in the assistance it can render the process of adaptation rather than in the acquisition of facts. This implies, of course, that the environment in immediate relation to the adolescent should be understanding and capable enough to appreciate the necessity of permitting the rigid institution of the school to infiltrate in a personal sense through that part of the life of the adolescent that is not passed under the regulation and control of the school as such. These statements are made rather as a possible way out than as things that are likely to happen. Certainly there is nothing in our present social or cultural stage to make a thing of this sort probable as a general custom. In the average American family the school stands out as a civic institution with no more intimate connection to the home than any other tax-supported mechanism. The child goes there to learn something of doubtful practical value or to be prepared for something rather in the distance or to be prepared for another institution of learning. The prime purpose of education in a cultural sense does not enter the minds of those with whom the adolescent is in touch nor is there recognized the necessity of providing a background in the home somewhat in line with the purpose for which education in reality exists. This almost universal dissociation between the immediate environment and the various cultural, social, religious institutions that compose it is a fundamental cause of the conflict of the adolescent. Out of this paradoxical disagreement between the actual and practical affairs of life, as exemplified in the immediate activities of the environment, and the larger aspects of similar things there lies a real and tangible source of conflict.

The adolescent developing out of the more or less satisfied boy or girl into the next stage of doubt and questioning and the further stage of criticism, expressed or subdued, comes directly to the conflict between environmental actions and school ideals. In the adolescent's enlarging mental horizon there soon appear the contrasts between what he is taught, what he is thinking, and what he hears and sees in his immediate surroundings. He must face, then, the issue of a conflict and he does so through his own ruminations. He begins the adolescent adventure in the sense of the development of his personality. It is necessary to scrutinize the interactions between the adolescent and the environment so that these may become clearer in the hope that some measure of adjustment may be suggested. Before doing this the necessity of conflict should be stressed. Among the important dynamic factors which awaken and keep going the struggle to exist, that of conflict is one of the most important and significant. To remove conflict, in the sense that the term has been used in this book, from the daily, almost hourly, experiences of the average human being, if that could conceivably be done, would be to discard a mechanism of the greatest value. Conflicts of a certain kind and degree commensurate with the expectancy of solution are the very essence of primitive stimuli without which much of the world's progress would have been impossible. Conflicts that provide this necessary stimulus are one thing but conflicts that are useless, emotionally destructive, and which eventually lead to no result or no constructive response are in their very nature at variance with orderly development. There is no easy pathway for the adolescent's adventure into the further reaches of adaptation, but this is not his fundamental difficulty. The avoidance of the unnecessary and the harmful conflicts that spring out of misunderstanding are important, and wrong ways of looking at the essential and vital character-forming elements in environmental adjustment are to be guarded against. If the various important factors that make up the environment are taken up and if their varying impacts on the adolescent be considered from this point of view, then some notion of methods in adjusting the mutual antagonism may be reached. At least a way may be pointed out. Whether this way can be followed or not is of less consequence than that there is a way.

It must be remembered that in the consideration of the adolescent the difficulties of the adult must not be neglected. It is scarcely necessary to state the fact that the adult world is as full of difficult situations as is the world of the adolescent. The mature man or woman is caught between the inelastic surfaces of the business and the social world exactly as is the adolescent. He is surrounded by as many sources of conflict of the kind that benefits him not a bit, as are to be found in that other world in which the adolescent is experimenting. Adjustment is as difficult and the emotions arising out of them are just as futile. If for the moment emphasis is placed upon the adolescent it does not imply that the adult difficulties are lost sight of nor that the adolescent should be regarded as the center of social maladjustment. The whole of society must be considered as one, in any just estimate of the complexities of social organization. The adolescent attracts attention because he is at the beginning of his conscious adjustment and it is at this point that the problem is most open. It is here also that the harmful effects of the attitude of society towards the individual in the process of adaptation can be seen more clearly than at any other period. For this reason, more than any other, adolescence rewards study. The criticism of the family attitude toward the adolescent is part and parcel of the same criticism of other social groupings and of society at large as it formulates in its rigid and inelastic manner how and in what way the individual shall act, what he may and what he may not do. The illogical and often silly standards which prod the individual into absurd and extravagant types of conduct are not his fault but the effect of mass influence and the pressure of the group. The mass movement forces him to its way of thinking, its prejudices, its customs, and its superstitions. If one steps out of the orderly march he is confronted by immediate objection and the conflict then is of his own making. In the long run he will be driven to further difficulties and to more vexatious ones than those arising out of conformity to the group demands. Thus the rebel develops.

Can the world offered to the adolescent be modified to make it less unpleasing and can his hostility be lessened? He feels, somewhat vaguely it is true, that many things in this world are not suited to his needs and may in the long run prove harmful. Perhaps in this initial impact there is something of the primitive fear of new situations and perhaps it is a feeling also that an attempt at conformity rather than opposition is expected. This vaguely felt expectation makes him suspicious, then antagonistic, and sometimes rebellious. The adolescent ordinarily is not aware of any of this nor does he consciously think it out in terms of himself and the environment. He certainly does not sense in detail the necessity of making an effort to adapt himself. He is not in any degree conscious of a turbulent world—the only tangible world that he will ever know, one that he can only meet by a change in himself or through some effort which will mean the surrender of things that have become dear to him. Nothing of a conscious attitude of this sort exists and certainly nothing can be said to take place in the mind of the adolescent of this nature. Those observing his behavior can realize only approximately what actually occurs. The state of suspicion and the primitive fear sense in the face of the unknown and the unexpected are all that seem certain. Something of the mental attitude of the adolescent can be gained if it is realized that his approach to the task of adaptation is one of unconscious trepidation and a degree of apprehension which are not translatable into more exact terms. The dawning sense that there is a task to be done before the orderly pace of life can be again resumed indicates the adolescent spirit and marks its approaching conflicts. The adaptative efforts that run through life at any period are complicated by the greater complexity of the task when in adolescence the environment presents itself as a tangible, material thing instead of something vaguely glimpsed through the protecting screen of older persons. The vital point of the issue lies in the fact that the adolescent has become by now a bit suspicious of the kindly eyes and a bit less confident of their all-seeing power and more than suspicious of the capacity behind them to understand and interpret. The instruments that were amply delicate and reliable in the preceding years are now regarded as clumsy, defective, and wholly unadapted to the task. His confidence in the wisdom, the appreciation, the justice, and the good faith of those whom before he scarcely dared to question gradually or suddenly disappears and he feels acutely the fact that he must face the world alone and unaided. The loneliness, distrust, and suspicion of the adolescent which has been described in the analysis of his conduct is thus seen to have its foundation in a mental attitude, which is an accompaniment of almost any situation that must be faced when that situation seems unreasonable, complex, and difficult. This for the adolescent.

His environment, on the other hand, or that part of it that is human, is as much puzzled as is the adolescent himself. Over a sea of misunderstanding and ignorance these two stare at each other. Neither is to be blamed and neither can help the conditions which have made this situation. The things that separate them, as far as a mutual understanding is concerned, are the very facts and fiber of our present industrial and social organization. It will be the same in the future and has been so in the past. For each generation has its adolescents and the same generation has its environment. The necessity of adaptation and the need of merging self into the customs and usages of the time are as urgent in one generation as in all others—past, present, or future. The causes of this perhaps lie a bit deeper than appear on the surface. It may be that the adolescent, having within himself a capacity for advancement common to all developing organisms, must, because of this slight potential power to go ahead, face the misunderstanding always associated with the impetus to change. That in the vast majority of instances the tendency to advance is soon lost in the more difficult task of overcoming environmental resistance does not detract from its significance. A portion of the dynamics of the adolescent environmental conflict may be so explained. These two impulses in the human mind, the desire for something new and the fear of the new, are pertinent hints as to the universality of the adolescent struggle. If that period of life is seriously contemplated and viewed not from any narrow preconceived theory, such as growth, sex glands, and what not, but as a purely biological fact, the autogenesis of these two impulses can be seen. Its measure is the effort at social adjustment as it comes into the life of an individual when the need becomes in the faintest way an object of awareness and ascends into the higher levels of consciousness along with the other functions of that region, such as choice, selection, discrimination, and all the other critical faculties. With the field now to be surveyed somewhat oriented and the ground to be gone over slightly mapped out, there is an opportunity to consider what can be done to ease up the task of adaptation for the environment and for the adolescent. The problems which have been discussed will still be problems—their permanent solution will still stimulate the socially minded, and the conviction that there is no short cut will still be certain. The adolescent is a perpetual heritage and so is the environment. It is probable that if both could be altered to suit the premises of these implications no more could be accomplished than is at present being done. The advantage achieved lies in the fact that if some of the things that stand in the way are better known, then progress in certain individual instances may be accomplished and some of the more serious consequences, due mainly to misunderstanding, can be avoided.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL

A COMMON source of conflict often appearing in the distant horizon of the adolescent is the stiff and rigid organization of what may be described as his immediate social environment. Under this term are included those people with whom he is in more or less intimate contact from his earliest recollection. This social grouping is really a clan group. It represents those who have a more or less personal interest in and concern with the adolescent as an individual. This is a part of the larger group representing a close-knit lot of people related by blood or marriage. In such a group there persists an organization of ideas and concepts about all manner of things, usages, customs, manners, behavior, politics, religion, and the like. In most American homes such a group formulates the kind of social usage that is prevalent at that particular level or segment of society. The adolescent finds himself in a preformed social organization. While the members of such a group have no intimate knowledge or liking, very often, for each other, they yet have cohesion and a certain rather thin-spread loyalty. The relatives, kindred, and friends form such a grouping. They have frequently mass opinions upon controversial matters and while they may have individual differences on minor subjects, as a whole they think alike and speak and act more or less in the same fashion.

In such a group certain individuals through success or failure, or through experiences of one sort or another, tend to separate out, attaching themselves to other groups higher or lower in the social scale, but as a whole preserving through at least one generation the kind of cohesion which makes family unity possible. Various like groups by mutual attraction tend to fuse together, thus forming larger and larger sections of society as their mutual manners, ways of thought, and common customs direct. Various social experiences tend to make these larger masses of people hang together, such as common religious beliefs, political prejudices, business and industrial alliances, and the like. The conservative tendencies in all large groupings help to cement them together so that mass thinking about fundamentals and matters which to them are important is brought about without the need of individual mental effort. Church organization is one of the important mechanisms which brings this larger grouping into a common society and this is often reënforced by common trades, businesses, etc.

Such a tendency is so well known in American life that mention of it is made merely to call attention to a few outstanding characteristics of social grouping from the point of view of the adolescent whose attitude towards this rigid social fabric is a mingled dislike, fear, and lack of understanding. In common with most organizations that are fused more or less automatically, the units of which are brought together less by selection than by the chance of similar places of residence, trades, business, wage levels, educational or religious preferences, a low common denominator of beliefs, ideas, ideals, customs, traditions, taboos, prejudices, and superstitions is found.

The mutual attraction of the unit groups is brought about by intolerance and prejudice which prohibit divergent points of view. It is necessary to the cohesion of such groups to interfere with the free expression of opinion and to prevent the intrusion of foreign ideas. In the larger groupings there is more rigidity in these respects than in the family units out of which the mass is formed, but all members partake of some of the rigid demarcation which separates the larger masses from other larger masses.

This crude analysis of the American social formation is introduced to accentuate the fact that the adolescent in the most plastic stage of his mental and personal development is confronted, environmentally speaking, by something which in no way reflects his own resiliency. It provides no place for that adjustment which he is constantly making in the upbuilding of his own personality, the success of which is somewhat dependent upon the understanding and insight of those about him. He finds often an alien surrounding to which he cannot appeal and with which he is not in sympathy. More often than not this feeling of opposition is difficult to express and not easy even to recognize. It is often vague and misty. Indeed it is so far from being understood by either himself or by those about him that the adolescent more often than not keeps silent, just upon those matters which might be discussed with profit, weighed and criticized. The points of opposition are often trivial enough and need not be regarded as of any greater importance than the temporary point of view of a youthful and probably misinformed intelligence. However, once the custom of mutual disregard is initiated, the adolescent reacts in a way detrimental to himself while the environment on the other hand loses a chance to lessen suspicion and to become more elastic. The fact should be appreciated that the adolescent is in a formative state, but that the environment has already been formed and its structure already determined. It must be remembered, too, that the ideas and fixed notions of the environment have not only been formed but in all likelihood preformed, that is, its essential ideas have been handed down from other periods and have altered little from one generation to another. It is to these historic outlines of conduct, manners, ways of thinking, etc., that the adolescent opposes his first conscious ideas relating to the necessity of environmental adjustment: elastic, formative, faintly understood, potential structure of conceptions, fears, and impulses of many kinds against a rigid social structure with the earmarks of an old and often discredited system of ideas, ethical survivals, and other remnants of the past.

Such is the manner in which the adolescent, if he were capable of expressing his opinion, might outline his picture of the environment of ideas to which he is placed in opposition by the very impulse of his growth. It is not strange therefore that in the home in its narrower sense the first impact should occasion a more or less definite revolt. The fact that there is often complete ignorance on both sides that such a thing is happening does not rob the event of its significance. Here then in the narrow confines of the household the first attempt is made towards an effort of mutual appreciation and understanding. These efforts must be based upon the admission, expressed or not—it matters not—that there is a conflict in the making, that its localization is in the home, that it has a reason and that there is something to be done about it. The chances are that the environment must do most of the maneuvering as the discipline of the usual home prevents too much accentuation of the adolescence. It will be found that the adolescent will automatically join in the new spirit of tolerance and lend his assistance to increase it. Such efforts should be carried out without much feeling and with as much absence of criticism as possible. The parties to the conflict must somehow be made to understand that each is a product of forces beyond control, that neither can act as independently as he would like, and that both are subject to the play of circumstances which can be modified by neither alone. An important aspect of this somewhat concentrated view of the total situation is that there should be, in all instances where there is enough intelligence to warrant it, an understanding as complete as possible of the mutual problem. The adolescent should be made to see that his home is not the accidental product of stubborn and narrow minds full of prejudice and misunderstanding but rather an institution derived from essentially the same sources as himself, the difference being in the social as opposed to individual organization.

The environment must, on the other hand, feel that it is dealing with a plastic developing organism which must be aided in its effort to fit itself into the structure by which it is surrounded and must be allowed the chance to find out for itself some of the things that the environment has taken for granted. It must seem strange, perhaps, that the term environment is used as if it were some person or some human entity when as a fact the environment to the adolescent must seem entirely impersonal and mostly structural. There seems, however, no other way of treating this thing unless it is personalized. It is made to seem as if it were composed of living things instead of a mixture of rigid customs and people who are controlled by them. As a matter of fact, from the solitary point of view of the adolescent, there is always some one person in the immediate environment who symbolizes all of his environment and it is often to this one unit that his efforts to adjust are directed, or on the other hand against whom his conflict is aroused. There is always a tendency in the human mind to identify difficulties with one or several instead of with multitudes. There is also the tendency to contend rather against individuals than against mere ideas, institutions, or social structures. The things in the environment that the adolescent fails to understand are the people, rather than the ideas. He attributes to the individuals the lack of understanding, finding them responsible for the customs and the idea organizations that seem to him strange and inimical.

It is a little difficult to keep this idea always before us, that in looking at the environment it is necessary to approximate the adolescent's notion of it rather than the actuality that is really present. For it is the adolescent adaptation, not the environment's reaction, that is important just now. It is much easier to think in terms of one adolescent and to feel his difficulties than it is to do the same thing with as complex an organization as the environment in its response to one of its members. Regarding this phase of the question somewhat figuratively and even with the added risk of using a sort of symbolic representation of the environment there is an advantage in picturing in this way the setting of the struggle between society in the guise of an immediate environment and the adolescent, a lonely figure in contrast. That is the whole aim of this part of the analysis, since it is only by approximately understanding the adolescent point of view that any alteration in the two figures concerned can be hoped for. If a closer survey of this localization of the problem is desired, and it is such close-ups that are of value, it can be obtained by trying to answer certain simple questions. What and why are there conflicts between the adolescent and his immediate environment? From what sources do they arise and why should there be anything of the sort in a well-regulated society? The answer to these questions might well clear up the whole matter of this book and even make the writing of this book unnecessary. The answer to one of these questions is simple enough. Society as it exists at present is not well organized except for efficiency of production. In this respect it is a well-organized working mechanism that in the long run does get things done, although with great and unnecessary expense, delay, and with much useless expenditure of effort. As a matter of fact it is the only society we have and no one seems to be able to contrive offhand a better one, or at least to put a better one into action. Living in a very imperfect social organization it is necessary to make the best of it and to try to smooth out as far as possible the conflicts between the units and the total structure, at least to understand the imperfections and the clumsiness of this organization, even if nothing can be done about it.

The adolescent reaches the stage in which, in the course of physical and mental growth, almost every day provides, from all sorts of sources, new and surprising bits of information, new and often startling experiences and emotional associations that arouse strange and undreamed reactions. There is an added intensity to ordinary juvenile experiences which overemphasizes their importance and exaggerates the proportionate place they ought to occupy in the orderly building up of personality. These are the necessary incidentals of growth and development, and to each adolescent in some degree at least there comes some bit of this reaching out for a more mature and more final crystallization of himself. Where do the inciting factors come from that stimulate this sense of reaching out? The answer can be no other than out of the day's experience. The freshness and novelty of each day are the indications that something of the vital urge lying in the very heart of all development is contained therein. To the adolescent with little practice in orderly assimilation, the ordinary becomes more than the usual and the extraordinary still more wonderful. The emotionally tinctured ideas, thoughts, and opinions are derived from the schools, from contacts made there, and from that first educational effort that is constantly at work. Education implies in the sense that is used here all possible sources of information: newspapers, magazines, pictures, movies, lectures, and all the rest. From these various sources, and not half have been named, the adolescent collects all sorts of ideas which he tests out in the only place that he can, that is, in his own immediate environment. This implies the people with whom he can in the easiest manner, in some fashion or other, share the effects of his experience. The difference between the adult in the acquisition of what appears to be new information or ideas and the adolescent lies in this fact that to the adolescent the sense of personal ownership in the matter of experience is a much more intense thing. It is this sense of personal acquisition, this feeling of possession, that makes of the adolescent so difficult a contender for the justification of his point of view. It is not in any sense a feeling of invention or discovery that is implied, but the flavor of personal possession and the sense of personal ownership. It is the contrast that hangs upon the consciousness of the possession of these things, the interest they arouse and the indifference and often ridicule among those in the immediate environment that develops in the adolescent a feeling that he is surrounded by an impassable wall of misunderstanding and by a dull lot of people who are wanting in sympathy and lacking in intelligence. In many instances this is pretty close to the truth, just as close to the truth as is the fact that what the adolescent has acquired is neither important, novel, or interesting. Here then is the conflict setting, a complete lack of mutual appreciation.

The chief difficulty in doing much with this situation is that there is a good deal of truth in the attitude of the environment and a good deal of justice in its attitude to the adolescent. On the other hand the adolescent cannot be expected to understand this. If he did he would no longer be an adolescent. The whole situation is full of paradoxes. The adolescent hears from all sides words of respect for education, he dimly appreciates the value of cultural activities, he listens to praise which is given to men of science, to the contributions of great minds, to the great figures of the past in literature and art, and all that sort of thing. In his own very simple approach to the ideas that accumulate from his daily contacts in his school he finds little environmental sympathy. He hears the words impracticable, visionary, theoretical, illogical, radical, heresy, respect for the opinion of his elders, traditions, and an utterly incomprehensible overvaluation of the stodgy, uninteresting, and dull. Wisdom seems to be associated with success and especially with that kind of success measured by wealth and possessions. This is utterly out of accord with the spirit of whatever intellectual growth is taking place in his educational life. Something has occurred to differentiate the standards, the ethics, and the morals of what is regarded by his environment as correct and the actual standards in daily life, the life of business, the life of industry, the life of reality as seen in politics, and all the rest of the civic life as the adolescent observes it himself or hears about it in the conversations that go on around him.

The adolescent brings, in opposition to all this, ideas which have come into his possession which he is inclined to regard as his own, the surrender of which would be the relinquishing of something precious that has become a real part of his life. The world of ideas that make up the conscious life of the adolescent is composed of notions, conceptions, and thoughts that are derived from all sorts of sources and naturally with no sort of symmetrical organization. They are often detached, without proportionate judgment, and often with nothing in the way of critical insight. They have not been amalgamated by personal testing or by observation. Therefore they influence conduct in a manner that more mature systems never do. The adolescent reacts to them in an extreme way because there is no other alternative and there can be no other way of thinking. Naturally he has not tested them out by experience or contact with life. They stand naked, sharply cut, and definite, and they are, moreover, as has been pointed out, tinctured with the sense of personal ownership, because they are so new and fresh. How much the average adolescent is aware of all this is a question the answer to which is influenced by the variation in individuals. It is probable that there is much less actual awareness than is commonly supposed. The adolescent is inclined to react excessively to half-formed ideas and partially understood conceptions, because he dimly perceives them and not because he speculates much about them, in regard to their probable truth or their possible applicability. Many become a part of his mental possessions from superficially garnered sources, such as chance remarks, bits of reading, talk, and the thousand and one sources in the market of ideas. They bear often no relation at all to the environmental atmosphere and have no trace of the commonplace ideas with which the immediate surroundings are permeated. They seem often out of touch and indeed strangely alien to the customary manner of thinking about things that has been accepted as right and fit. For this reason if for no other their expression or the conduct that arises from them excites antagonism, ridicule, and objection, which often end in mutual silence. It is important to get the point that it is not the nature or kind or import of such conceptions that is important, but their reception and the various reactions arising out of them. It is as a matter of fact not important to consider them in the light of their origins or to trace them through devious paths to their common sources. They are often the dullest, most conventional, and usual, but the fact that they, so to speak, belong to the adolescent and that he so comes to think of them makes them significant.

This then is the structure of the world of ideas which the adolescent tries to digest and to which he must make some sort of adaptation. The environment is felt by him to be hostile and antagonistic, because it has its established idea-structure against which his new conceptional world strikes head-on. Out of this come two things: a definite antagonism, and then an equally strong tendency to repression and the hiding of mental content from any kind of environmental intrusion. The silences of the adolescent are as striking as his expressions. It is only in the very exceptional instance that anything out of the way results. The adolescent does not suffer from this conflict of ideas. In most instances the dulling of the outlines of ideas gradually takes place as they appear to lose their freshness or interest and as they tend to change from one to another. They tend to merge into backgrounds of generalized conceptions or fade away among the general stock of past experiences and lose their capacity to influence conduct or even mood. The environment then should be made aware of the influence of ideas in the mutual reaction between the adolescent with his growing consciousness of them and its own stock, preformed, and long-crystallized rigid systems. A nice balance ought to be struck between the two and the merging into a sort of common interest in the world of ideas as such brought about. The adolescent will as a result begin to feel free to bring into the open of mutual discussion such ideas as he thinks are worth while. This will avoid the easy refuge of repression and the feeling of antagonism which discolors the adolescent's earliest experiences with the world of thought. The consciousness on the part of the environment that adjustments of ideas are as important as the adjustment of conduct should be all that is necessary to free this period of the harmful influence of conflicts, neither perceived, understood, nor indeed realized. By this mutual forbearance much ought to be accomplished, provided there is a straight and frank understanding that the adolescent is not to be mentally coddled and that he should not be permitted to get the notion that the environment is on the defensive, so to speak, nor that his ideas are important in themselves, and especially not that he is being protected and guarded on account of a fear of harmful consequences. It matters not a whit whether agreement and mutual belief come out of this. The adolescent is about as often wrong as is the environment. Antagonistic sets of ideas can be lived with if the nature of the antagonism is understood and if tolerance is encouraged.

CHAPTER XXII

SOME GENERAL APPLICATIONS

IN a general way in the last two chapters the environment and the adolescent have been regarded as in conflict. Out of such a conflict the adolescent emerges strengthened and mentally more vigorous, if that conflict is properly and wisely guarded. Stress is laid upon ideas and conceptions, their organization and structure, because it is to them that the adolescent mainly reacts, expressing by his conduct the effect of this impact. The pertinence of such a conception as this depends upon the theory that ideas have for the adolescent a kind of reality. Probably at no time in the mental existence of an individual do ideas mean as much as in the period of their most rapid acquisition. Much of the difficulty of dealing with the adolescent would disappear if the importance of the mere existence of ideas and not their relative value in the adolescent mind were clearly appreciated. Too much emphasis is placed upon questions of the correctness, truth, sincerity, and depth of ideational capacity and not enough upon the simple fact of the existence and meaning of ideas to him. With this conception of the importance of ideas in mind it is possible to analyze some of its intimate phases in order to picture more concretely the elements concerned in the mutual interaction of the environment and the adolescent.

In the course of his mental development the adolescent runs into a maze of misunderstanding upon the several vital questions of immediate environmental purport. When this occurs there is need for an intelligent way to handle the situation. There are numerous questions upon which human intelligence has always sought enlightenment. There are a number of human institutions that have always puzzled the inquiring mind. Some of them have arisen as the social needs of a developing civilization required, while others sprang out of the mists of bygone times and have been handed down from one generation to another. Their origins are as lost as their purposes are shrouded in mystery. Some of these have been described as part of the environment and some are parts of the social fabric in a broader sense. These institutions are vital to the adolescent because they have been so to the adult. They contain questions that remain for the most part unanswered, but nevertheless have always stimulated human curiosity and always invite contemplation. To the adult they have become commonplace; to the adolescent, with his fresh capacity to handle concrete and to some extent abstract ideas, they appear new and novel, and the conceptions that they arouse in his contemplative moments seem, to him at any rate, like new intellectual discoveries.

It is possible to classify some of these in order to facilitate the description of the problems that lie inherent in their impact upon the adolescent, such things as religion, education, industry, habits, social conduct, social demands, and the like. If mankind in the mass has always sought for a solution of such questions as arise out of the activities of these institutions, no less than mankind in the mass does the individual adolescent answer to the same impulse. To the adult world these matters are old and worn; to the adolescent they are new and strange and for that reason they are often terrifying. The chances are that purely religious questions are less definitely the source of conflict to the adolescent at the present than in past decades. That is, religious questions have become much more generalized than was formerly the case. The adolescent is less concerned with religious controversies than he is with what life implies, what existence signifies, and what the future has in store. In other words he is concerned with the more primitive details of man's relation to his environment rather than with the social scheme of organized religion for their solution. The conflict comes in because the environment is ready to give him this or that scheme defined, detailed, and recorded in the framework of a creed. To this or that manner of belief he is expected to subscribe, and often does, in fact. To accept an explanation without a chance to question does not fit in with the adolescent's trend of mind, certainly not with the impulse of inquiry and curiosity which is present. The environmental solution often implies an insistence that no other solution of these questions can be right. A prescribed creed saves the adolescent from further participation in a universally common exercise of the human spirit in the quest for an answer to its past, present, and future. If he accepts, believes, subscribes, then that part of the conflict, if there has been indeed one, is over with. The resulting antagonism to that environmental influence may and often does come later and frequently produces just the lack of spiritual attitude which it was designed to avoid. With that later development of unbelief and skepticism this book of course has nothing to do. The creedal organization of any environment should consider carefully the possible danger of using its powerful influence to direct the inquiring mind of the adolescent along channels of prescribed and narrow religious beliefs. The automatic acceptance of a scheme of belief is as poor a substitute for actual spiritual experience as is the refusal to consider any belief at all. Religion from this point of view does not concern itself with the worthwhileness of any definite system of belief or its advantage over another.

The important point is, how shall the adolescent be allowed to approach religious questions? Shall the normal and average impulses of inquiry, curiosity, and apprehension in matters of this sort be stifled by environmental pressure or shall he be allowed, if he is so minded, to find his own way with such aid to clear thinking as the environment can give him? If tolerance is one of the finest qualities of the human spirit, as it unquestionably is, the time and place to develop this is in the adolescent period and no better exercise of the tolerant spirit can be thought of than in questions springing out of religious beliefs. Tolerance must come from a consideration of the fact that there are several ways of looking at controversial things. Intolerance springs from the conviction that there is only one way and that way is one's own. However, it is by no means as simple as this. The adolescent does not come face to face with religious problems uninfluenced or fresh-minded. Ever since he had any conscious spirit at all the waves of religious creedal prejudices have beaten down upon him. Perhaps the great majority of adolescents have no opportunity at all, nor will they ever have in their future adult life, to face this most vital question with an untrammeled and uninfluenced mind. For that reason the average adolescent is not at all aware of any conflict at this point. He accepts the environmental solution and if that solution demands that he subscribe at the time and bind himself to a certain way of looking at these fundamental problems he does so. He thereby misses one of the most important exercises and experiences of the human spirit and no doubt his intellectual future will always bear traces of that scar. Creedal narrowness strikes at the root of the innately spiritual, that is, the true religious impulse of the adolescent. For those, however, who have escaped the influence of earlier religious discipline in the narrow sense of this term, then the adolescent period is one in which the most fruitful exercise of the intelligence in relation to spiritual questions is possible, with the enduring advantage of as free a choice as is possible in a world in which organization of opinions on all manner of subjects seems necessary. To allow the adolescent to find his own way and to come to some sort of compromise with his spiritual problems no matter whether that final or seemingly final solution fits in with the environmental leanings is the way out; with this permitted, the conflicts that cluster about religious questions in the adolescent period will be as near a solution as such conflicts can ever be. At least through this method many of the difficult consequences may be avoided and the adolescent may be furnished with a like capacity to approach, to appreciate, and possibly to understand many other varieties of conflicts which his growing experience is bound to furnish. The importance of religion in the adolescent period has always been mixed up with creedal demands and the socialization of the religious impulses. The underlying real spirituality of the adolescent has been lost sight of. The demand that he belong to some one of the numerous organizations has obscured the vital trend in many adolescents toward a real spiritual attitude. The easiest way, apparently, and the way that so frequently leads to future dulling of that spiritual tendency is through the acceptance of a system of preformed codifications. In such a system the questions arising out of the problem of man's existence and his relation to a prime mover are answered by subscription to and often by a mechanical repetition of old formulæ. The problem presented by the adolescent in his religious strivings is wise environmental direction so that whatever choice is finally made should be as free as possible and without dictation, above all guided by a real insight into the spiritual essence of the whole matter. It is some such environmental attitude as this that will prevent the tragedies of religious self-accusation, the terror of sinning, and the future skeptical attitude to everything fine and uplifting in church affiliations.

In the matter of sex and the questions clustering about it there is a better understanding at present than in almost all the other adolescent problems. The importance of sex conflicts in the adolescent period has been considered in previous chapters. Its importance varies so much in individual cases that no conclusion as to its significance can be reached. There is danger in exaggerating the sexual side and likewise just as much in ignoring its existence. Concerning the importance of sex in the problem there may be much doubt, but concerning the proper attitude toward it there is none. The facts of sex and the presence of changes in the physical, temperamental, and mental organization of the adolescent, arising out of the development of the sexual organs and the manifestations of their functional activities, are obvious matters. Sexual conflicts arise out of the development and activation of the sexual organs together with the functional influences which take place. The emotional complement as well as the instinctive curiosity and the active manifestations of sexual differentiation are important factors. The environmental attitude to these and allied phenomena has as a rule been unintelligent, crude, and clumsy. The adolescent is inclined to find his adjustment in types of conduct which he afterwards learns are wrong, harmful, and injurious. This is a statement of the sexual conflict in a general sense. What can be done to find a way by means of which most of the defects in so unintelligent a method can be avoided? If it were possible to prevent the wrong notions that have been previously implanted, the task would be much more simple. Errors of fact, wrong ideas, physiologically inexact interpretations have been furnished in abundance long before the stage of adolescence has been reached. All this must in some way be corrected—by whom and through what agencies are still matters of some controversy. The peculiar taboo operating on all matters of sex and the mystery which enshrouds them adds no little to the difficulty in placing before the adolescent what it is important for him to know. Frankness, lack of self-consciousness, and knowledge are necessary. This combination is difficult to obtain unless the environment sees the necessity of educating itself in knowledge and so developing a suitable attitude. If this has been done then the task is no more difficult than any other.

After much debate about the matter and much argument one way or another it has come to be commonly believed that those in closest touch with the adolescent are the best agencies through which the necessary information should be given. This information should deal only with the essential facts of sex in relation to function and anatomical development. The purpose of sexual activities should be accentuated and the sexual act should be regarded both as to its reproductive function and the relation of that to personal preference, affection, and the choice of a mate. All this should be conveyed to the boy or girl in the early adolescent stage and certainly in the case of a girl before the appearance of menstruation, although no precise moment can be specified. Much depends upon the interest and the curiosity manifested. A parent should be close enough to his child to appreciate the need for imparting the necessary information and when the need is felt there should be no hesitation and certainly nothing like a self-conscious or timid attitude. The parent should know that the child has already obtained a good deal of information about these matters although much of it is very likely wrong. It is probably unwise to tell a child that everything he has previously learned about sex is wrong. It is much better to give him the facts and let him correct his false notions by weighing in his own mind the defects of his own information. In many instances it is of advantage to back up statements that may seem curious and difficult to understand or believe by reference to some standard physiology or anatomy, something that contains a clear and objective statement of important matters. If this is impossible and the need of authority is apparent then the family physician or some one who has the proper information may be asked to help. Physical directors in schools and instructors in physiology, hygiene, etc., may be better prepared to back up the statements of the parents than textbooks.

The adolescent sex question is only partially solved when the required information is in some fashion or other obtained. Even with a perfectly accurate knowledge of the function, anatomy, and physiology, the adolescent is apt to wander in a confused way through the devious pathways of sex in its social side and in the applications of the knowledge he has obtained to the conduct and behavior of himself and his fellow adolescents. Sex is not merely a matter of localized appearances and function, it is vastly more than this. It is so much more than merely the problem of sex information that this serves only as a sort of introduction. The social problem of sex and of how the adolescent is to be oriented in matters of this kind is after all the important matter. The more significant items of this question have to do with the matter of self-abuse, nocturnal emissions, continence, sexual relations, etc. On all such matters the most absolute frankness is essential and all subterfuge must be avoided. The best approach is along the lines of hygiene and the development of habits in accordance with the maintenance of physical vigor and normality. To the adolescent some of the explanations will no doubt appear unsatisfactory and not at all helpful. Unless such explanations are associated with the idea of the effort that society has to make to regulate these matters according to its needs and demands they will be without purpose and result. Sex cannot be interpreted solely from the physiological point of view nor from functional necessities. Social responsibility must be brought into the question and the differences between a primitive social organization and our own should be used to illustrate the necessity of the seemingly illogical inhibitions and the apparently unnatural repressions. The rôle of customs and regulations of various sorts must be made clear in respect to both their origins and necessities. A well-thought-out plan by which the social and the physiological phases of sex can be clearly set forth furnishes the most convincing argument for the individual regulation of sex functions. The adolescent can be made to understand that sex is a mutual problem for himself and for society and that his share in it is to understand both his own participation and that of the group to which he belongs.

Unfortunately it is not possible in most instances to keep the problem within these limits. Ideas foreign to a rational attitude often creep in. The idea that there is something sinful about sex is one of the oldest of the social heritages. It has all the backing that religion gives it as well as the countless implications of personal defilement and punishments. It has been used so much in the past as the easiest and most plausible of the many deterrents that almost automatically it takes its place in the discipline of youth. As a deterrent there is not much to say, because there is no means of knowing how many times and how often it has worked. In the presence, however, of sex offenses of whatever sort there is a very real danger in accentuating their sinfulness. Once direct the adolescent's thoughts in that direction, furnish him with the notions of a religious faith, and his imagination will go beyond the bounds of reason in self-condemnation. If that stage is reached there is small chance to influence him according to social or physiological tenets. Some of the most difficult situations are brought about in this manner. The adolescent who has come to regard his sexual offenses as sins furnishes a problem of the utmost difficulty, often coming to the borderland of mental abnormality.

There seems to be some sort of a compromising mechanism which in the long run guides the average adolescent through the mazes of sex entanglements. This organization is made up of various elements; fear of consequence is certainly one of them, but in the main, if the social angle is accentuated, the rest of the inhibitory influences take their proportionate place and all work together as a deterrent. Most adolescents respond rather well to the appeal of a physical and social ideal. This is something clear and easily understood, seeming to remove the problem from a good deal of the mystery associated with sin and disease. This, then, is the average attitude to be taken by the environment in relation to sex. No more detailed information is necessary or practicable. There is no absolute rule to be followed, but the general principles of correct information given in a frank and understandable way with enough authoritative backing to be convincing and the accentuation of its social and hygienic phases ought in most instances to be useful. It should lead to proper adjustment and control of sex, leaving its final exercise as a function for social utilization.

With education in the narrow meaning of this term, that is, school and allied institutions, the adolescent is frequently in definite conflict. Some of the most difficult situations occur in relation to the formal aspects of education. A number of these questions have been previously touched upon when the relation of education as a part of the environment was being considered. It must be admitted that the educational system in the mass fashion that seems to be necessary at the present day is ill fitted to cope with the individual adolescent. Much of the faulty method is due to the increasing demand for education and the limited funds available. Mass education, with the indifference to individual needs and the lack of adequate training for teaching to meet the demand, works especial hardships upon the adolescent. One aspect of this question has to do with the sudden or gradually developing indifference toward school, which brings the adolescent to an almost complete standstill, threatening at times to end his educational effort altogether. The adolescent comes to a halt and refuses without knowing why to continue, becoming convinced that education is not for him. In face of situations like this, what can be done? No conclusion can be reached until the reasons of the halt are known and until the origins of the objection have been investigated. It is obvious that the steps to this end must be undertaken without prejudice. The assumption that the school and the educational system are wrong is true enough as a general proposition, but in the individual case it may not be the right explanation. The physical examination of the adolescent is among the first things to be done with special reference to such things as vision, hearing, etc. The general physical overhauling of the boy or girl should come next and if there is nothing found wrong with that side a search for difficulties growing out of the actual daily experiences at school should next be made.

The sudden stoppage and the complete reversal of interest in school matters has aroused the concern of teachers and parents and efforts are made to discover both cause and remedy. The term adolescent blocking describes this situation as well as any other. It is especially striking in those cases in which up to the time of the appearance of adolescent conflicts nothing of this sort is observed. This curious stage of torpor, indifference, and lack of concern in things that before stimulated an increasing interest is one of the striking manifestations of the adolescent in his school experience. In a previously dull pupil the continuance of this state is not remarkable, but in the case of the energetic and the studious it is. Naturally the first question to be asked is whether the student's sudden slowing up is a result of definite unpleasant experiences at the hands of either teachers or fellow students. Can such experiences so terrify a student that automatically he strives to protect himself from their repetition by becoming so poor in his work that he will soon be taken out of school? This maneuver is often enough seen in primary schools where the forms of defense suggested by this device are often resorted to. In the adolescent age, however, such experiences with such results are perhaps less common. Few cases in which the adolescent block has been studied reveal any such simple cause. Various other explanations have been suggested. They range all the way from complicated theories of sex conflicts to the development of inferiority complexes and from glandular defects to low levels of the curve of intellectual acquisitiveness.

Leaving out of the question those instances in which a definite abnormal condition in a physical sense are found or those other rare instances where there is reason to believe that unfortunate experiences in the school life are evident, there remains to be considered the vital question of the effect of the average school on the developing adolescent. May not the reason be found in the inability of the adolescent so affected to continue indefinitely his effort at adaptation to a system that is manifestly too inelastic for his capacity in that direction? In other words, there is a percentage of adolescents, not very large, it is true, for whom the ordinary school is unsuitable. Just why this should be true of one individual and not another is not known. The superior type does not make up any large percentage of this class. Each case must be examined on its own merits. In a general way, the cause seems to be associated with a progressive developing state of boredom. This state is seen very early in most instances in which the block becomes so striking that there seems nothing to be done but to stop the school attendance altogether for a while. It may throw some light on causation if an attempt is made to submit the average school system to analysis from the point of view of its effect upon the adolescent mind. If from this analysis an explanation can be reached before the block has become too definite the solution of the difficulty may be found through sharing this explanation with the victim.

The true explanation seems to lie, not in any intricate system of complexes, or in any subconscious conflicts, but rather in the development of this state of almost absolute boredom. The educational system is not yet so developed that it is capable of pedagogic individualization. The possible rate of progress of the individual differs so enormously that the mass retards the natural progress of some of them and proves too rapid for others. The only way a mass system can function is to measure the progress of all by the speed of the mentally less efficient. The comparatively meager utilization of the total intellectual elements causes lack of interest, then indifference, then dislike, and then the states of boredom. When such states do not meet with intelligent understanding or if they are regarded as due to general badness, and if punishment instead of explanation is the sole remedy, then the rebellion is changed into definite and stubborn antagonism. Dislike of the school grows so overmastering that all progress is stopped and the result is that the child is taken out of school altogether as a hopeless educational problem. Obviously the number for whom this is an adequate explanation is not very great, but even so each one should be regarded as belonging to that class unless a more applicable theory is found.

In some few instances the adolescent block is a pure fatigue phenomenon. In such case the child has been forced ahead too rapidly and has exhausted his mental acquisitional capacity too soon so that when more complicated tasks are asked of him there is no energy or mental capacity remaining. Such a child needs absolute rest until he can begin again at perhaps a lower level of intellectual activity and his rate of acquisition be guided by his capacity and not by the standards set either by others in his class or by those at home. The reason why the block takes place at the adolescent period is due to the fact that at about this time the kind of things that the child is expected to know and understand are those that require some measure of analytical power and something more than the exercise of memory alone. At that period, too, many other mental processes are receiving their first stimuli due to the changes taking place in the general development processes of the whole organism. The same amount of concentration on the lesser interesting experiences of the school day cannot be expected.

Another group of cases, and there are no data which might establish how important this group is, belong to a category which might be called late mental backwardness. This implies that the mind of the child is incapable of acquiring much more formal education. The child stops because he can go no further in this particular kind of intellectual activity. The simple elements of the education that he has obtained are about all that his mental powers provide for. A level of possible achievement has been reached and no more advancement can be expected. Such children are infant-minded as far as further development is concerned and they tend to remain that way as long as they live. This does not mean that their powers of adjustment to life are interfered with in any way, because many belonging to this group are materially successful and gain for themselves not only a competence but often are regarded as successes industrially and socially.

Before leaving the question of adolescent blocking altogether, it is essential that the principle of the reaction to experience in a quantitative sense be emphasized. It is very often difficult to understand how a trivial instance can produce so profound an emotional disturbance with the resulting alteration in conduct and the consequent stubbornness of an antagonistic position once assumed. The point to be remembered not only in such instances, but in the general problem of adolescent conflicts, is that the significance of an experience, its weight and importance, must be measured by the influence it exerts on the adolescent, not by the effect of a similar instance on the adult. The observer is a poor judge of anything that occurs in the life of some one else. It needs but a relatively trivial happening to set in action a complete defense system that is no doubt meant for more important contingencies. This is more apt to be so if the happening is accompanied by a more than adequate amount of emotional reaction. In seeking then for explanations for the adolescent school-block the incidents, happenings, surroundings, and contacts must be examined not from the point of view of their importance in the adult scheme of things, but solely from their effect upon the adolescent in question. His own measurements must be temporarily accepted if the situation is to be understood and a plan for a solution is to be reached.

Education in the sense of an environmental element is thus seen to have an effect on some adolescents, at least in creating a point of resistance which results in the temporary blocking of what seems to be his intellectual progress. The fact that the block is often episodic and brief and that its ultimate consequence may turn out to be nil should not detract from the importance of such a phenomenon. It should be the effort of the whole environment to emphasize the significance and the opportunity of education and to suggest by its total attitude that education is a privilege and that its results cannot be measured by the yardstick of practical usefulness. Too often the indifference to intellectual development is but a reflection of the environment's point of view which expresses its contempt and its skepticism and at the same time is insisting that the adolescent go to school. The mechanism of defense so easily aroused in the adolescent is apt to take possession of the environmental point of view and automatically express it in his own actions and thus support his own growing indifference to education. If the environment will take the trouble to learn what education really is, what value it will always have, what service it can render, and how essential to the development of a complete personality it is, there will be fewer instances of the sort just considered.

CHAPTER XXIII

APOLOGIA

IN this final chapter the writers of this book take the privilege of suggesting to the reader something of the difficulties besetting them on the literary journey through adolescence and why it is that ideas may at times appear nebulous and suggestions for handling concrete problems incident to the adolescent conflicts less definite, sharply cut, and direct than might be expected. Though an author's apologia should appear in the preliminary chapter of a book, where traditionally it belongs, rather than at the end, yet it has seemed of advantage to the reader to know first what the authors think and then find out why they have come to think as they have. Therefore, this chapter is a kind of summing up of the attitudes which have developed in the minds of the authors in relation to a subject that has been of great interest to them, which has aroused their curiosity and stimulated their analytical and interpretative abilities.

If the reader had hoped to find in this book fixed formulæ for handling his own adolescent problems in the manner of a series of prescriptions, he has been disappointed. If he had hoped for clean-cut definitions in regard to origins and mechanisms he has also been disappointed. If in spite of these defects the adolescent stands out as a living reality in a world of conflicting social, personal, and institutional structures, and if something of the origins and mechanisms of this situation is made clear, then adolescence has been illuminated and with the insight so obtained a more understanding attitude might reasonably be cultivated.

In complicated social problems, and most of them are so, the first step towards a solution must consist in laying bare the elements of which the problem consists. In adolescence this is as far as experience, skilled judgment, informed appreciation have thus far gone. This, then, is the reason why so few positive formulæ in the sense of prescription devices are set down. What the adolescent and his environment are mainly in need of, as has been so frequently emphasized in the pages of this book, is knowledge and sympathetic understanding of one another. The best way to accomplish this is to let it be known that such a need is the essential preliminary step.

In the attempt to lay bare some of the more important mechanisms of the adolescent conflict a good deal has been said of psychological devices of one kind and another. To the average reader there might seem to be too much emphasis placed upon the various systems that have been devised to interpret and explain human conduct. An aspect of controversy may seem to have crept into some of the expositions of these systems. What, he might well say, has he to do with the various schools of present-day psychology and why is it necessary to be concerned with them at all? This is supposed to be a book about adolescence and not about the comparative usefulness and scientific worth of systems of thinking about the human mind to which various names of persons and methods have been attached. The answer to this is that any inquiry into the phenomena of adolescence must be concerned with methods which can be used in such an inquiry. This is the intelligent way to go about studying anything. If many methods have been or are now in use, some attempt to weigh their relative usefulness is essential. It has seemed necessary to indicate in a general way what the various psychological systems are that may be used in the study of adolescence.

In the necessarily brief accounts, which are all that are required, much is necessarily omitted and merely outlines are used. It was hoped that the reader would get enough out of them to see how impossible it is to utilize any one system in studying adolescent situations and how essential it is to be as elastic as possible in the choice of methods to gain insight into the nature, cause, and mechanism of such situations. The method should be as elastic as the subject itself. No effort has been made and certainly no intention was evident to discredit any one system or any one school of thought. If prejudice has seemed to be evident and if one system has been more sharply criticized than another, let it be laid to the feeling of irritation and disappointment which experience with established systems has brought about. If the system developed in this book seems to be no better than those that have been discarded, that means nothing if in the process of discarding some insight has been gained.

Depending on the attitude of the reader, this book contains either too little or too much psychology. If it is overweighted by what may be called psychology or a point of view associated with it, it is obvious that adolescence is so overweighted. If psychology has anything to do with behavior or conduct and if the mental content of the adolescent is of any importance, how is it possible to say anything about him without emphasis on these things? Surely it is too late in this day of accumulating experience in regard to human intelligence to exclude from the study of the adolescent phenomena the consideration of his intelligence. This may as well be called psychology as anything else. To describe as accurately as may be an individual's relations and his reactions to external happenings may be called psychology quite as accurately as the attempt to interpret what goes on in the mind. To trace the relation between these two sets of actions is a psychological exercise whatever else it may be called. To each one therefore who reads this book there is as little or as much psychology in it as he may see there. As the authors themselves are somewhat vague as to just what is meant by psychology, a conclusion that seems to be shared by many others as well, they are not really concerned by the criticism that may well be advanced that their book is unnecessarily overweighted as far as the average reader is concerned by its psychological approach.

Sex plays about human motives and actions in a most tantalizing way as far as final formulations are concerned. Try as one may, the actual rôle of sex, either as motive or mechanism, escapes accurate measurement. Here again the chief difficulty is what is meant by the term. In this book an effort has been made to limit it to its more usual applications among intelligent and thoughtful people. To them sex has a connotation that is useful and informative. It is of value in conveying information and lends itself to discussion. The expansion of the term beyond its logical limitation, except in certain extreme instances, leads to a confused way of thinking about it which has had the effect in many instances of giving to this well-understood term in the ordinary sense an aspect of personal or system interpretation that leads to excessive and annoying and discursive arguments. Sex as such is commonly understood and when there is a necessity to broaden its applicability to a given situation, that may well be explained and its broader implications touched upon. This should make clear some of the statements that might seem to be contradictory if the shifting of sex from a narrow to a broader connotation be not kept in mind. In the minds of those who hold to a psychological doctrine as if it were a religious creed there is an opportunity for criticism more or less impassioned against those who do not believe as they do.

It was found necessary in touching upon the Freudian psychology to attempt its evaluation in the narrow aspect of its utilization in the study of adolescence. In order to do this some description of its more important tenets as they were apropos to the adolescent was necessary. The fact that the Freudian psychology and its method of investigation were not found to be favorable agencies for the investigation of the adolescent conflicts was a statement of opinion founded upon experience. The brief sketch of the system as a whole is of course open to the criticism of being incomplete. In a few words or paragraphs not more than the merest outline can be given of this valuable contribution to human thought. Its rigid insistence on the factor of sex as the dynamic urge behind human motivation and the conflicts that result as the need of repression is manifest would seem too inelastic for the study of adolescent phenomena. Its too rigid insistence on the unconscious as the dominant guiding force in the human mind is a dogma that cannot in all sincerity be followed in the analysis of the adolescent. Psychoanalysis fails as a method of approach to the adolescent if the concept of that phase of human development upheld in this book is logical and convincing. The careful reader, however, will find all through the pages of this book in its psychological treatment the influence of the Freudian School. Whatever the final appraisal of the Freudian psychology may turn out to be, its influence upon present-day thought in the study of human motivation and conduct is undeniable. Discard as one may be forced to do a good deal of its authoritative conclusions, reject much of its verbose terminology, disregard the intemperate and often mystic attitude of its adherents, yet it infiltrates into the very recesses of present-day psychology. It has broadened the horizon of every serious student of the human mind and has forced the interpretation of human conduct into analytical instead of purely descriptive channels.

Adolescence is a difficult chapter in human evolution and the adolescent is an elusive figure not merely to understand in life but to talk or write about. Adults should feel that somehow the adolescent has failed in the majority of instances to take the proper advantage of the potential mechanisms incident to that phase of his life, so that his adult development might fulfill the promises of personal achievement that are inherent in the adolescent mechanism.

The adults who feel this way recognize that, somehow or other, the fault lies with them or with the society to which they belong. The sensitive adult who remembers his own adolescence in the fragmentary way that has been described in this book and who is in contact with the youth growing up about him, feels the need of more information and wonders why it is not forthcoming so that some use can be made of it if only to create a greater mutual understanding. Those who are wise enough to understand that a difficult subject cannot be made easier simply by the use of phrases apparently easy to understand or easily remembered should be in sympathy with the frankness with which a book with this point of view has been written. Complex situations are not rendered less complex by describing them as simple things. The intelligent observer of the adolescent knows that much of what he does and thinks is at present almost incomprehensible to both of them. He is willing to accept patiently some tentative bit of observation, some slight illumination, some touches of insight. He would like to attempt to make use of them. He distrusts rules and admonitions and is skeptical about the dogmatic advice contained in many books about adolescence, the writers of which are often pedagogically inclined and apt to be superior. There are so many adults who feel that their own contests with life are filled with feelings of insecurity which platitudinous statements fail to mitigate. They naturally feel that to the adolescent these same things slightly reduced so that they fit into his own level are just as unsatisfactory.

Adolescence may well be looked at as that part of a human being's life which contains the dynamics of future development along lines of the utmost achievement of which that particular person is capable. It makes little difference how notable or insignificant that achievement may be. The most complete utilization of the elements of personal capacity will in any case be the utmost that can be hoped for. It is believed that in the adolescent period there is the first important evidence of the latent possibilities and capacities of the individual. This is not in contradiction to the importance of habit trends and other awakened elements of intelligence which infancy and early childhood are effective in producing. To minimize the importance of early pre-adolescent experiences would be to ignore one of the most formative periods in growth. In adolescence, however, is found the beginning of awareness and personal consciousness in relation to social organizations. This is the distinguishing feature and it is for that reason that the possibilities for the further development of the personality are so great from that time on. It is this added feature which is new and comes now into the picture which gives it its uniqueness and its prime importance.

It has been frequently stated by the behavioristic school of psychology, or by at least one of its important figures, that given the first five years of a child anything can be made out of him—a good or bad, a socially useful or a socially useless individual. While this is incapable of proof, the statement is startling and warrants a thoughtful consideration not of the assumption itself but of its application to other periods of life. Adolescence is a period in which permanent traces of environmental experiences may remain, influencing all the rest of life by virtue of the indelible impressions left long after the experiences themselves are forgotten. It is worth while examining it from the point of view of the character and quality of these impressions. If early infancy and the beginning of childhood are periods in which are molded future personal characteristics then it is the adolescent period in which much of this early molding is crystallized into fixed patterns. Of the two phases in personal development, adolescence is by far more important in respect to the quality and depth of the environmental reactions. As tested by the phenomena that are seen in the adolescent and from the reaction of the adolescent in the way of conflict, revolt, and all the other intensely personal responses arising out of environmental contact, there is no time in the life of an individual for which the environment is more responsible. In adolescence are laid down the future patterns of personal conduct, the kind and variety of intellectual acquisition, the receptive capacity to ideas, and the possibilities of a spirit of tolerance, of a sense of justice and fair treatment. These are a few of the building stones of character and of future personal possibilities. It is the welding together of these potential personal assets which end in the establishment of the completed personality of the adult. It is true that some of the threads lead far back into the pre-adolescent period but it is believed that they are not firmly grounded there, but that they are susceptible of modification and strengthening at the adolescent period. If they have had no chance earlier to have become rooted in the character soil of the child, they or their equivalents have at the adolescent phase a chance to be once more planted. Even the negative of some of these qualities, the reverse of the admirable traits, are given the opportunity to become somewhat, if not completely, neutralized. If this picture of adolescent potentialities has been exaggerated and if the previously won personality traits are too deeply enmeshed in the fabric and structure of the developing boy or girl to be radically changed even by a wisely guarded and intelligently directed adolescence, it is incumbent upon the environment to attempt to act toward the adolescent as if all these were probabilities and possibilities.

The various agencies, institutions, and persons that form the structure of the adolescent's environment, some of which have been described in previous chapters, should see to it that as far as their respective capacities or abilities are concerned they should be constructively inclined to the adolescent and not the reverse, encourage rather than discourage the positive tendencies in the direction of complete personality achievement. As it is, in most instances, the very thing that adolescence in this plastic stage needs is denied not consciously or with the intention to defeat the achievement of personal unity but because there is a tradition that youth is in need of discipline, restraint, and conformity. Indeed youth has such a need but these disciplines must spring out of necessities as they present themselves, and not arise from altogether external sources. From the environment of structures, persons, and ideas, a constant stream of set, rigid, and inelastic impressions flows toward the adolescent. These are not individualized, selective, or pointed to particular situations. They represent the environment *en masse,* as a sort of total and complete design ready for stamping on a yielding and impressionable surface. It is this pattern formula which is in need of breaking down. There is no agency that can do this but the environment which sets the mechanism in action. The practical question presents itself how can an environment which desires to be intelligent, resourceful, and useful go about mending its ways and turn to the adolescent, a less forbidding, less rigid, and more attractive surface. In order to accomplish this the environment must become a good deal more self-conscious than it is, more searching in self-analysis, and more sensitive to the danger of seeing repeated in the adolescents the identical figures of which the environment itself is made up. The conflict between the identity of the adolescent and the identity which the environment apparently desires to force upon him is manifested by many signs to which attention in previous chapters of this book has been called. There is no lack of warnings; as a matter of fact, the adolescent problem connotes just this more than anything else. When the environment becomes more sensitive and its observation more sharpened to the adolescent's situations, conflicts will be easily appreciated. In speaking in this way of the environment naturally only the personalities which make it up are in mind. The other factors, some of which have been frequently mentioned, are necessarily not a part of the present discussion. If the individuals which form the living structures of the adolescent's environment could be made to see or could of themselves see the necessity of making themselves more critical of their own defects in relation to the adolescent in such items as rigid opinions, narrow views, lack of sympathy with other views than their own, and many other characteristics of an unyielding body of opinion, a step in the right direction would have been made. If an environment in this sense had one mind and if that mind could look back seeking to discover the origins of these things it would be amazed no doubt to discover that their beginnings go back to its own adolescence. If not all of it could be traced there as crystallized patterns, the impetus at least towards their growth and final molding is there to be found. A good deal of the tragedy of this world, it is not too much to say, is due to the adolescent's fixed patterning of ideas, opinions, and attitudes which long afterwards control motives and conduct. In many of the crises of adult life the type of action springs much more out of the adolescent pattern than one adjusted to the situation which calls forth action. If this is so in an individual sense it is just as true when the action is a mass or group response. How similar in moments of national or political emergencies is the adult group action—a replica of the distorted reaction of the adolescent to an unsympathetic adult environment.

It is too much to expect that an environment should always match in elasticity, plasticity, and adaptability that of the adolescent. This much might reasonably be hoped for—that the environment at least should be constantly aware of its temper in the matter of rigidity and that its apparent defects should be scrutinized not only as evident things but as they affect the adolescent who is part of it. The pleas is made therefore that the environment shall become increasingly aware not only of its own inherent defects as a social institution but it should be made to see clearly what are the unfavorable results of this unhappy state of things upon the developing personality of its adolescents. The most that any environment can do is to become more conscious of its historic failure in the handling of each generation of adolescents. This is not so difficult to bring about. The admission that this is probably so would not be denied by any intelligent member of an environment who is frank enough to look fairly at facts. It is quite another thing, however, to translate this sense of failure into personal responsibility and to arouse the necessary change and the essential shift from fixed to adaptable ideas. This would mean, among other things, the individualization of each important situation and the group response in line with it. It would be an achievement if the environment would become a movable instead of a fixed institution, shifting with the adolescent from one phase to another as his personality alters, develops, and adapts. This can only happen if the men and women making up the personal factors of an environment are capable of change and adaptation. If this is done in any appreciable way the things making up the fixed part of the environment can be transformed by the play of ideas about them into something that it is much less difficult for the adolescent to fit into.

It may seem a strange way of ending a book, which contains many pages about the peculiarities of the adolescent period, to assert that it chiefly depends upon the environment whether the adolescent develops into a right or wrong, a good or bad, individual type. It is not so strange, however, if the view is stressed that the molding of an individual comes about mostly through his own experiences and their more or less permanent organization in the structure of his own consciousness. This, plus the factor of a physical and mental kind that is furnished through his inheritance, is all that he has to work with. In the last analysis experience is altogether environmental. The logic of the thing seems to be therefore that it is to the environment that the adolescent must look for the favoring element, the proper stimulus, for his personality growth. The environment must look at the adolescent, in its turn, as the most sensitive thing against which its various elements, good or bad, harmful or useful, strengthening or weakening, are directed. The credo of this book can now be stated as its final comment on adolescence with its escapes and conflicts.

Adolescence must be looked upon as a dynamic period in which as a result of the rhythm of growth the individual seeks as a biological necessity a position of independence. In this inherently necessary struggle or search he runs against a group of obstacles both within himself, as a result of his earlier experiences, and in the constitution of society as it exists at the given moment. These may be grouped together as "environment." This struggle between the urge from within and the environment is the "adolescent conflict." There are three chief divisions of this conflict although all are interlocked and interwoven.

First, there is a physical conflict in that the adolescent attempts to drive his physical machine to an extent beyond its limited functional capacity. Second, there is a sex conflict which in its ultimate analysis resolves itself into the fact that there is no normal outlet for his biologically developing sex functions. Third, there is a psychical conflict in that his mind, seeking independence for the first time, finds itself blocked by the organization of the institution of civilization.

The necessity of adaptation to this environment produces a conflict from which the adolescent finds an escape in one of a number of ways.

The quantitative element of these conflicts varies in each individual adolescent and therefore dogmatic formulæ are impossible. For each adolescent an understanding of the individual problem is necessary—an understanding both on the part of the adolescent himself and those with whom he is in immediate contact.

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